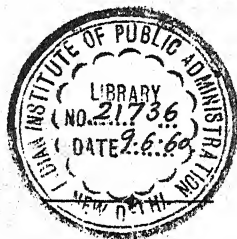


“THE HINDU”

ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY

1878 - 1928



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"THE HINDU"

THE SILVER JUBILEE *

ITS ORIGIN & HISTORY, (1878—1903).

(BY M. VIRARAGHAVACHARI)

AS time rolls on, and it does so very rapidly, as the young grow old and the old are called to their final resting place, facts once familiar become legendary or are altogether forgotten. It is fitting, therefore, that from time to time we should recall the history of "The Hindu" and its work, so that each successive generation may be acquainted with it; and as there is no more fitting opportunity for doing so than the present, when "The Hindu" has reached the age of twenty-five years, I shall give in as short a compass as possible, the history of its rise and progress. It is not for me, who has been intimately connected with the paper from its very inception, to dilate on its achievements; it is for the public to say whether it has not throughout the whole period of its existence fulfilled its mission in a manner entitling it to public favour and confidence.

FIRST INDIAN NEWSPAPER

Towards the middle of the last century a band of otic citizens of Madras constituted themselves into an association under the leadership of the Hon'ble Mr. Laksharasu Chettiar, and by petitions to the Court of Directors, the Viceroy and to the Governor of Madras, ventilated

The following is the reprint of the Silver Jubilee Supplement "The Hindu", issued on 21st September, 1903.

the grievances of the Indian population and obtained no small amount of success. For some reason or other, which I am not aware of, the Native Association as it was called became defunct and with it its organ, the "Crescent", a newspaper the first of its kind conducted by Indians. Presumably, it died for want of sufficient support from the educated Indians. It must also be remembered that English education was then but in its infancy and the mission of the Press could hardly have been recognized. An organ to voice forth the wants and aspirations of the people was still a desideratum; and with the support of that distinguished statesman, the late Raja Sir T. Madhava Row, and his coadjutors and compeers, Dewan Bahadur Ragoonatha Row and the late lamented Ranganada Mudaliar, the "Native Public Opinion" was launched and subsequently incorporated with the "Madrasee", started by Mr. A. Ramachandra Aiyar, now Chief Judge of Mysore. After some time this organ which was avowedly started in the interests of the Indian population, passed into undesirable hands, and in 1877 opposed the elevation of that eminent jurist, the late Sir T. Muthuswamy Aiyar, to a seat on the High Court Bench. Such a journal could not long survive and naturally ceased to command the confidence of the educated natives of India. It became defunct soon after, and "The Hindu" was designed to take its place.

TRIPPLICANE LITERARY SOCIETY

About this time the administration of India was in the hands of Lord Lytton whose despotic sway was anything but popular. He inaugurated his reign by holding the Delhi Durbar at a time when two Presidencies were afflicted with famine, and before the havoc of the visitation was scarcely over, he imposed a series of taxes on the famished population. He passed the Vernacular Press Act gagging the Native Press. He distrusted the Indian population and passed the Disarming Act. This and the other measures he adopted created an amount of political activity unknown before in India. These measures formed the subject of bitter controversies in Clubs and Societies, but no concerted action was

possible, as there was no medium through which the energies of the educated Indians could be focussed and by which the masses of the population could be educated. One of the greatest impediments to the advancement of the population was the absence of an organised public opinion. Calcutta and Bombay had their associations and journals, but Madras could boast of neither. Among the literary associations in the metropolis, the Triplicane Literary Society, which had been started many years before, contained among its members six ardent youths just out of College, who conceived the idea of supplying this want and gave it effect. These were :—

1. Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar,
2. Mr. T. T. Ranga Chariar,
3. Mr. P. V. Ranga Chariar,
4. Mr. D. Keshava Row Pant,
5. Mr. N. Subba Row and
6. Myself.

THE BIRTH OF "THE HINDU"

We were from the very commencement conscious of the difficulties of successfully performing our self-imposed task. We were aware of our shortcomings and counted upon support from the indulgent public. We knew that public feeling, not only politically and morally, but socially, is influenced in all countries by the tone of their public journals, as the community is bound however unconsciously to imbibe the spirit of the newspaper which its members daily read; and realized the responsibility of the undertaking, and the immense evil that would be inflicted on the community if we failed to develop those qualities of political, moral and social well-being which are so essential for the advancement of the nation. We were also not unaware of the financial difficulties looming before us; but with the buoyancy of youth we thought we could surmount them. All of us were fresh from the College and had therefore no capital to speak of. Two of us, Mr. Subramania Aiyar and myself,

had entered life as schoolmasters; and three others were studying for the Law to qualify themselves for the Bar and could therefore hardly find time to render the undertaking any material help. The brunt of the work fell upon Mr. Subramania Aiyar and myself; and it was therefore not possible for us to start anything more than a weekly paper. We arranged for its publication at the "Srinidhi" Press, Mint Street, and the first issue was placed before the public on the 20th September, 1873, this day twenty-five years ago. Oh! I well remember the various letters of encouragement and congratulation that came from all parts of India. I should, however, not omit to mention the discouraging remarks of some of our well-wishers who foresaw many evil consequences from the enterprise; they considered that the profession of a journalist was hazardous in the extreme, and that in the then condition of the Presidency could not financially pay its way. The fate of the "Native Public Opinion" and the "Madrasee" was predicted for "The Hindu". But nothing daunted, we continued to work on. Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar was, from its very inception, till he severed his connection with "The Hindu", the editor of the newspaper, and he conducted it with an amount of zeal and enthusiasm hardly surpassed. And he was assisted in this work by Messrs. C. Karunakara Menon, K. Subba Row and K. Nataraja Aiyar, whose whole-hearted devotion was indeed praiseworthy. His high talents and great ability and his intimate knowledge of political and economic problems were in no small measure responsible for the correction of many abuses in the administration and the creation of a sense of public duty amongst our countrymen. I should be wanting in gratitude if I omit to mention one valued adviser whose name must for ever be connected with "The Hindu". Surgeon-Major Nicholson, who at the time resided at the Mount, on seeing the first issue of the paper, enquired after and came in search of us. He took us to his retreat at the Mount and gave us valuable advice. Week after week Mr. Subramania Aiyar and myself sat at his feet and imbibed his sound and mature views on various subjects. Not only he encouraged us with his advice, but

he sent us regularly, week after week, most valuable contributions on various current topics which are to this day a study in themselves. I may state that this philanthropic European gentleman has not forgotten us or this country, but continues to occasionally write to our columns. May he live for ever so long is my fervent prayer. Mr. A. Ramachandra Aiyar, who was wholly instrumental in introducing us to this eminent writer, was of immense help to us not only in the matter of freely giving us his valuable advice, but also in giving us the benefit of his experience with the "Madrasee" of which he was the Editor.

PUBLIC OPINION IN PROVINCE

For about a month, "The Hindu" was issued from the "Srinidhi" Press, and on the 25th October 1878 the printing of the paper was entrusted to the "Scottish" Press. Of the Proprietors who originally started the paper one by one gradually dropped off. Messrs. P. V. Rangachari and T. T. Rangachari were appointed District Munsiffs and Mr. N. Subba Row left Madras to practise at Rajahmundry. Mr. D. Kesava Row Pant severed his connection with the paper though he continued to contribute to our columns till his sad death some two years ago. Mr. Subramania Aiyar and myself were left to continue the work. The want of a native association was at this time keenly felt. An association which would represent the true state of the condition of the masses to the Government and their several grievances, and to get them redressed, to suggest to our rulers the best means of utilizing the latent activities of the people in the service of their country, to get recognized the claims of the sons of the soil to a proper share in the administration, to suggest modes of utilizing the knowledge and attainments of the educated classes, in fact to induce our rulers to put into practice the Magna Charta of our rights and liberties, such an association was still a desideratum. This long-felt want was soon supplied. An association under the old name of the Madras Native Association was organized with Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar as its President. I may mention that the Government of the day did not prohibit public servants from taking part in the discussion of political questions, nor

were these latter afraid to join the Association. It was thus composed of both officials and non-officials, and this fact contributed in no small measure to its usefulness.

In June 1880, that distinguished and liberal-minded statesman, the Marquis of Ripon, who acted upto the lofty maxim that "righteousness exalteth a nation" assumed the reins of Government and began a series of reforms which at once won for him the affection and gratitude of the people. He at once recognised that even the most paternal despotism had never been and could never be a lasting foundation for a foreign rule, particularly in a country like India with a civilization, to quote the words of Lord Dufferin, "the most ancient, the most continuous and the most artificially organized to be found on the face of the earth." He at once saved the country from the grave disasters that would have followed the false and perilous reactionary policy adopted by his predecessor in office; he restored the liberty of the Native Press; he gave a vigorous push to the principles of Local Self-Government, avowedly with the double aim of securing improved Local and Municipal administration, and to give political education to the people; he invited the co-operation of able and qualified Indians in the work of Government; he supported in every way the educational progress of the people; he restored peace and vigorously promoted the economical and industrial development of the country, and in the words of our distinguished countryman, Mr. Pherozesha Mehta, "he restored the true prestige of England—the prestige of its good faith and honour and left the loyalty of the people firmly anchored in their confidence and gratitude instead of in fear and force." If the reactionary measures of Lord Lytton aroused the people from their lethargy, the righteous policy of Lord Ripon sowed the seeds of political education of the people to fructify and mature. The prospect in India was thus hopeful, but we in Madras had a time of great anxiety. In November 1881 the reins of Government passed into the hands of Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff who, though a Liberal Member of Parliament, was imbued with a spirit of despotism. The Devastanam Bill, though it met with wide and popular

sympathy, was crushed ; unpopular Collectors were shielded, and officials of proved or suspected misconduct were white-washed and let loose; the Chingleput scandals and the Salem riots were disposed of in utter disregard of the principles of civilised administration.

FROM WEEKLY TO TRI-WEEKLY

The Madras Native Association discussed public questions, and its able document on Local Self-Government will for ever stand as a monument of its labours for the advancement of the country. "The Hindu" continued in its onward path in spite of financial and other difficulties and ventilated public grievances in an uncompromising manner. The Editor, Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, went about on a lecturing tour throughout the Presidency, and contributed materially to the education of the people. In September 1883 the scene of action was transferred to Mylapore, and "The Hindu" was published at "The Hindu" Press established by our distinguished countryman, Mr. Ragoonatha Row who, while in and out of service, materially helped us with his valuable advice and by contributions to our columns.

At this time it was found that the appearance of the paper once a week considerably detracted from the full value of the journal. A timely discussion of topics of current interest was found to be impossible, and the situation required a more efficient and useful means to create and guide public opinion and to interpret it to Government. Lord Ripon's measures of reform met with strong opposition and organized attempts were made to discredit his policy, to misrepresent its real scope and tenor and to create a reaction of public opinion against it; and it was more than ever necessary that the real feelings and wishes of the people of India should be correctly interpreted to the people of England. A weekly paper was quite insufficient for this purpose. Moreover, Sir Grant-Duff's administration required to be carefully watched, and we accordingly resolved to issue the paper thrice a week, and in this form the paper was first launched on the 1st October 1883 printed at the "Empress of India Press" as it was found that

"The Hindu" Press was unequal to the task. At this time, the Senior Member of the Governor's Executive Council had completed his term of office, and some of his admirers and friends proposed to get up a memorial in his honour. Public wrath was so great against the proposal that the columns of "The Hindu" could hardly find space for the numerous letters that were sent to us. It was then that for the first time we made the acquaintance of the late Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu who came to the "Empress of India Press", in connection with the Carmichael Memorial Meeting which was then soon to be convened. Since then he had always been till his lamented death one of us and gave us much valuable help; and I can never forget the fatherly interest he took in us. I shall be wanting in gratitude if I do not mention the Honorable Mr. Ananda Charlu who, by his valuable advice, has always guided us in our work.

On the 3rd December 1883 "The Hindu" turned over a new leaf in its successful career. The present habitation of "The Hindu", 100, Mount Road, was then rented and the "National Press" which, as its name implies, was not a commercial concern, but established for the permanent maintenance of a representative native organ, was fitted up by the late lamented Mr. Rajoo Pathur of Arulanandam and Sons. It was intended to equip the Press by means of public subscriptions, but the amount raised was found insufficient, and the few friends whom it was proposed to appoint as Trustees to the concern gradually kept back, and we had to provide the machinery and plant by means of borrowed capital. Having thus equipped a Press of our own, we removed to the new premises and issued the paper from the "National Press" for the first time on the 3rd December 1883. Among those who helped us at the time I may mention Rajah Bhaskara Sethupathi of Ramnad, Rajah Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. Justice A. Ramachandra Iyer of Bangalore, Rai Bahadur A. Sabapathy Mudaliar of Bellary and the late Mr. A. Cuppiah of Cuddapah, to one and all of whom we are under deep obligations.

FOCUS OF PUBLIC OPINION

Towards the beginning of 1884, Madras was witnessing a series of unparalleled demonstrations in honour of the arrival of Lord Ripon in our midst and "The Hindu" Office was the rallying point where men of light and leading congregated to discuss the "modus operandi". A few months hence it was found that subjects requiring a more careful and elaborate discussion than could be possible in the columns of "The Hindu", subjects of such enduring interest and importance as to deserve more than a passing notice, were being crowded out, and that a monthly magazine was essential for the discussion of such subjects. Mr. Ananda Charlu, prompted and encouraged by the late Mr. P. Munisawmy Chetti, gladly undertook the task, and the "People's Magazine" was accordingly issued in May 1884 from our Press.

The Native Association had done its work and spent itself. The Government looked upon with suspicion those of their servants who took part in the deliberations of the Association, and the enthusiasm of the non-official members also slackened a bit. The Association therefore ceased to exist, and again for the third time the necessity for concerted action brought round a band of patriotic citizens who formed themselves into the Mahajana Sabha under the leadership of that uncompromising patriot, the late Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu, and the redoubtable champion, Mr. P. Ananda Charlu. "The Hindu" Office was for a long time the local habitation of the Sabha. The closing days of 1884 witnessed in Bombay a series of demonstrations unprecedented in their universality and warmth. Meetings were held in all parts of India, and representatives from the several Presidencies were sent to Bombay to convey to the departing Viceroy the gratitude of the millions of India for the inestimable blessings he conferred on them during his administration. The "send-off" given to the Viceroy was unique of its kind, and drew from all parts of India men of light and leading, to take part in the celebrations. For the first time perhaps in the annals of Hindustan an aristocracy of intellect from far and near had congregated

in the town and island of Bombay, and the opportunity was taken to discuss the grievances and the requirements of the Indian population. The idea of holding annual gatherings to discuss the various problems of Indian administration was then suggested.

In Madras the Mahajana Sabha continued its political activity and the first Provincial Conference under its auspices was held at the Pachaiyappa's Hall in December 1885. At this time Mr. A. O. Hume, the Grand Old Man whose disinterested devotion to the cause of India and self-sacrificing work in the cause of the Congress have won for him the gratitude of the people of this vast Empire, joined the party of National Progress. It is to this philanthropic Englishman that the National Congress owes its existence, and if for nothing else the country ought to be grateful to the British nation for calling into its service such a distinguished patriot. Our frequent meetings at "The Hindu" Office, his valuable suggestion, our close intimacy and the warm personal interest he took in me and my work, I can never forget.

Soon after, in the Christmas week of 1885, the first National Congress was held at Bombay. The Madras contingent to the first National Congress was headed by Mr. (now Justice Sir) S. Subramania Aiyar, who had since 1884 taken a deep interest in "The Hindu", and by his advice and encouragement contributed in no small measure to the success of the undertaking. His unassuming devotion to the cause of national advancement and the ready support he gave to all measures of political reform are too well-known, and Madras might indeed be proud to count among its sons such a noble benefactor. "The Hindu" can never forget that it was to him more than to anybody else it owes the "National Press". It was Sir Subramania Aiyar who saw the great difficulties under which "The Hindu" had to carry on its work, and the "National Press" was one of his numerous benefactions. We cannot be sufficiently grateful to him for his timely help, and may he live long in health and strength is my fervent prayer.

"THE HINDU" BECOMES A DAILY

Since then "The Hindu" Office has played an important part in the political development of India. It used to be visited by members of Parliament who happened to visit Madras; there it was that the Mahajana Sabha met and transacted business for a long time. It was to 100, Mount Road, that people with grievances resorted. It is no wonder, therefore, that the few who were ill-disposed towards the political development of India called the place "a den of conspirators." Yes, they were conspirators consisting of eminent Government servants and leading lawyers and statesmen; but they conspired not for the overthrow of the Paramount Power but for the removal of abuses in the British Administration. Memorials and pamphlets in thousands on the various questions of the day were printed and circulated at the time from "The Hindu" Office, and Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar and my humble self as his co-worker spared no pains to familiarise our countrymen with the sacredness of political privileges. When the Congress was for the first time held in Madras in 1887 "The Hindu" Office turned out a large quantity of work in the shape of leaflets explaining to the public the objects and scope of the movement. There it was that out of Congress hours leading Congressmen assembled to discuss the current topics of the day. What with the Congress, Provincial Conferences, and the ever-increasing demand for current news, we were unable to meet the requirements of our supporters. A newspaper published thrice a week was found utterly insufficient, especially as education had made rapid strides; and people who had been imbued with the new spirit declined to wait for two days to read the current literature of the day. In 1889 we decided to run "The Hindu" as a daily paper, and accordingly from the first of the official year the paper took this form. I need hardly state that this new venture was not financially as successful as was anticipated. Though many of the subscribers to our tri-weekly gladly consented to pay the additional subscription, still there was considerable diminution in the number of subscribers, and we had for

a long time to conduct the paper irrespective of financial considerations.

OWN BUILDING ACQUIRED

In 1892 we were enabled by the inestimable help of His Highness the late Ananda Gajapathi Raj, the Maharajah of Vizianagaram—one of the most liberal-minded and princely Maharajahs whose benefactions may be seen in every part of the Indian Empire—to raise a loan not only for the purchase of the building which had come to be associated with “The Hindu” but also for carrying out additions to it. That enlightened Prince had, more than once at the time of raising the loan, expressed the idea of making over the building to us free of all encumbrances eventually. But this was not to be. We continued in our arduous work, and for the next five years the country was making rapid strides in political education. The result was in no small measure due to my valued friend, Mr. Eardley Norton, who, by his masterly contributions to our columns, by his eloquent speeches which called forth thousands to hear them, and by his personal charm and influence stirred the hearts of our countrymen and familiarised them in the Western methods of obtaining political privileges. The question of the increasing expenditure of the administration was being hotly discussed and gave rise to the Welby Commission. In March 1897 Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar went to England to give evidence before the Commission and his prolonged stay in England put the financial resources of “The Hindu” to some strain.

Meanwhile the Maharajah of Vizianagaram breathed his last suddenly in May following, to the great sorrow of his numerous friends and relations. Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar returned in August 1897 and continued to conduct the paper with great ability and zeal. His writings after his return from England were greatly admired and during the great Bombay State trials bore on them the stamp of great vigour and earnestness. In the following year, however, he got disheartened on account of the heavy encumbrances of “The Hindu” and wished for a dissolution of partnership. I cannot disguise the fact that the proposal came upon me

as a thunderbolt. The severance of the partnership between us I had never dreamt of. The deep foundations of our friendship were laid during our scholastic career; the scaffolding was erected at the Triplicane Literary Society; the superstructure was raised at the Pachaiyappa's, and the whole was closely cemented at "The Hindu" Office. We had worked shoulder to shoulder for more than quarter of a century and it was therefore with the greatest sorrow and pain that I received the proposal. I, however, submitted to the inevitable and on the 28th September 1898 the partnership between Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar and myself was broken up. His place as Editor was taken up by Mr. C. Karunakara Menon who had been the Sub-Editor of the paper for ten years previously and had been trained in journalistic work. I may be permitted to add that my confidence in Mr. Karunakara Menon has increased with years, and I have every reason to be proud that he has maintained the prestige of the paper unimpaired, coming as he did after Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar.

EARLY FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

After the demise of the Maharajah of Vizianagaram and the severance of Mr. Subramania Aiyar, financial difficulties came ahead. But owing to the sympathetic interest taken by Sir Arthur Havelock in the paper and the help rendered by Her Highness the late Maharanee of Vizianagaram and Mr. M. Tirumalachariar, I was able to tide over the difficulties, and my most sincere thanks are due to them for the ready help they rendered.

I, however, recognized that the concern was a solemn trust and that, whatever became of me, it was necessary to place "The Hindu" on a satisfactory footing. I thought that the time was ripe for placing the whole concern on a popular basis and accordingly requested some of my friends to start a Company for conducting "The Hindu" and enlarging its usefulness. They readily responded to the call and I hereby tender my heartfelt thanks to them for their ready response. A prospectus was issued and shares were invited. Nearly half the number of shares were taken up; but there appeared to be no prospect of the other half being

taken up, as public servants were not sure if they could take up shares in the concern. I accordingly asked the Government whether its servants could subscribe for shares, and my disappointment was great indeed when a fiat came forth that no officials could take shares or have interest of any kind in any of the joint stock concerns. We need hardly add that the order would have been different if the head of the administration had been more sympathetic with our aspirations.

Such in brief is the story of the rise and progress of "The Hindu". Of those who originally conceived and carried out the idea of starting the paper, it has fallen to my share to celebrate its twenty-fifth year, and for one who has been rearing it as a child it gives me no small satisfaction to see it blooming into full manhood. There have been times of difficulties and danger, but by the grace of Providence I have been able to tide over them. Like all journals "The Hindu" has had to defend actions for alleged libels and pay penalties. During the course of twenty-five years that the paper has been in existence, we had to defend four such suits, one of them was compromised, while in the other three cases we had to pay heavy damages. This no doubt considerably increased my difficulties, and it is probably this risk in the journalistic enterprise that has deterred other men of public spirit from joining me in this noble work. The sacred principles of fairness and justice have always guided us in our work and our aim has always been to interpret correctly the feelings of the Indian population and to create mutual confidence between the governors and the governed. This work we carried on without fear or favour, and if at any time we have given offence by incorrect statements or imperfect information, it was done amidst pressure of work, and we have always been ready to correct ourselves. We might have displeased the authorities by the exposure of evils in the administration; but to them we say that in the discharge of this duty we were prepared for their displeasure. A large section of the population which has received the benefits of Western education feel that for the onward march of the nation some change is inevitable. The decisive part in shaping the course of future events will rest with the

educated section of the population, and it is, therefore, incumbent on them to ascertain the direction in which reforms should be carried out.

CONCLUSION

It is for such a purpose that the National Congress has been called into existence, and it is to educate the masses of the population as to the true line of progress that organs like "The Hindu" have been called into existence. If we have advocated measures to change the administration in any respect to suit it to altered circumstances, the Government ought to have welcomed the suggestions instead of fighting shy of them. It has been truly said that no Government can endure unless provision is somewhere made for expansion; and our rulers will do well to bear in mind the great principle that "society makes its own laws and that its condition at any given time determines the character of the Government and the legislation it will obey." While on the one hand the rulers should so adjust the institutions as to suit them to the needs and character of the population, it is incumbent on us to bestir ourselves so as to deserve better. We see signs of indifference setting on us. The enthusiasm which prevailed during the first days of the Congress and "The Hindu" seems to have spent itself. I should be wanting in my duty if I fail to raise the signal of warning. As observed by Thomas Mackay, "It is very necessary that men should abandon the policy of indifference, and that they should do something to enlarge the atmosphere of liberty. This is to be accomplished not by reckless and revolutionary methods, but rather by a resolute resistance to new encroachments and by patient and statesmanlike endeavour to remove wherever practicable the restraints of regulation and to give full play over a large area to the creative forces of liberty, for liberty is the condition precedent to all solution of human difficulty." I appeal to one and all of my educated countrymen to do what lies in their power towards the desired end. The part that I have assigned to myself in this work I shall continue to perform to the best of my abilities so long as I have the strength to perform them and so long as I receive the support of the public. I shall,

however, not disguise the fact that the future of "The Hindu" is not without difficulties, but I hope with the blessings of Providence to tide over them and continue in my work.

In conclusion, I beg to tender my heartfelt thanks to all those who have in any manner contributed to the success of the undertaking; and I also acknowledge with thanks the ready response with which the staff of "The Hindu" has answered every call. To the late Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu and the Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu I owe a debt of gratitude which I can never sufficiently repay. My thanks are also due to my brother journalists in India who have always treated us with courtesy and consideration.

M. Viraraghavachari.

20th September, 1903.

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ON this happy occasion of the Golden Jubilee of "The Hindu", we feel it our duty to give expression to the feelings of gratitude and thankfulness, which are filling our hearts to-day, to the Staff of "The Hindu" whose loyal and sympathetic co-operation has achieved for it its present position and earned the approbation of so many of our esteemed countrymen and of numerous friends beyond the seas. It will be inappropriate on an occasion like this to single out names for special mention. It will be sufficient to state that in its Editorial Staff "The Hindu" has always been fortunate to have had the services of men of high character and integrity who, understanding their duty to the public, have wholeheartedly maintained the policy of the journal laid down by its early founders. To all of them we tender our sincere and grateful thanks. The Reporting Staff and the various correspondents outside the City whose co-operation is very necessary in purveying accurate and up-to-date news have been no less efficient; while the managing, the clerical and the audit staff, the foreman, the lino-type operators and the mechanics have all performed their duties with a single-minded devotion to the Proprietors. The success that has so far been achieved is in every respect due to the loyalty and efficiency of the Staff in all its branches which it has been our peculiar privilege to enjoy.

Our debt of gratitude to the numerous friends who have felicitated us on this historic occasion in glowing language is immeasurable. We convey to them our grateful thanks, in all humility and in the fervent hope that we shall, by God's grace, be enabled so to maintain the prestige and the traditions of the paper and expand its dignity and increase its utility for national and public service as to deserve the warm terms in which our well-wishers and friends have congratulated us.

K. SRINIVASAN

K. GOPALAN

Proprietors.

FROM THE SILVER TO GOLDEN JUBILEE *

During the time covered by the period from the Silver to the Golden Jubilee of "The Hindu" to-day, there has been a rapid expansion of its sphere of activities. In the development of its service of news, in the methods of collection and presentation thereof, the enterprise, initiative and resources needed for the purpose have increased naturally with the growth of national life and increase of public activity. But even more than the problems of extension and financial provision, the duties and functions involved in the control of its editorial policy and the prompt and timely action demanded in giving the right lead to the people in their ever-widening spheres of public life, imposed on Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, who took charge of this paper at this juncture, responsibilities far more trying and arduous than those borne by his predecessors in the earlier period. The reasons for this, of course, are not far to seek. During the earlier period, as Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar observed on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee:

"The Hindu" was started at a time when, in the natural growth of the political conditions of the country, an era of public activity was inaugurated by a combination of various circumstances and it fell harmoniously into line with the spirit of the times; and the natural sympathy and co-operation that subsisted between both conduced to its marvellous success. It was the duty of "The Hindu" to create public opinion to reflect it, and then to derive support from it which

*The following is a reprint of the Golden Jubilee Supplement to "The Hindu" issued on October 7, 1928.

then it was instrumental in forming. It had indeed its own difficulties and disappointments, but the peculiar good fortune of "The Hindu" was that at no stage of its career did it fail to meet with the cordial and full support of the public and from individuals whom it necessarily offended in the course of the discharge of its duties of an unpleasant nature."

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW PERIOD

In the latter period, however, the development of national consciousness and organised public opinion in the country, to which "The Hindu" had contributed so largely, led to a more sustained pursuit of national aims and ideals, and to a much clearer definition of the aims and activities of all those interested in public affairs resulting at the same time in a more pronounced differentiation in viewpoints and methods. The controversies and contentions over them became more acute and eventually led to the formulation of varying policies and programmes, all of which sought support in that awakening of the masses that started just about this time and organised themselves in different groups. The duty of giving sound and clear lead and guidance on the part of the Press during this formative period of public opinion relating to several forms of national activity—directed not merely to the pursuit of political but also to the realisation of social and economic ideals—became more difficult and onerous. It is not for us to say how the duty thus imposed on "The Hindu" has been discharged. It is, however, our duty to say that it was fortunate that during this period its editorial as well as business control and ownership were combined in the hands of one who proved himself fully equal to all the needs of the situation and to the emergencies and crises that had often to be faced. Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar never flinched from his task by reason of its magnitude or its danger, or of the opposition of classes or interests, however powerful. Neither did he quail before the initial storms and irritations that arose in consequence. There were occasions when "The Hindu" had to stand alone and take a line of criticism or advocate a course of conduct which were unpalatable to those who, for the moment, were in the front rank of fighters, and often "The Hindu" had to fight single-handed in combating abuses or evils connected

both with official and public life. But the duty was never shirked whatever its consequences and it need hardly be said that there were many occasions when those who had come to curse remained to bless. In no case, indeed, did "The Hindu" fail to receive that support from its readers and the public on which it has always relied.

HOW KASTURIRANGA IYENGAR TOOK OVER "THE HINDU"

The celebration of the Silver Jubilee in 1903 left "The Hindu" undisputed indeed in the esteem and influence which it commanded with the public, but did not enable its proprietor, Mr. M. Viraraghavachari, to place it financially on a sound business footing. Attempts to convert it into a limited liability concern or convey it to a group of public-spirited friends with a view to attract additional capital to pay off its accumulated liabilities and improve its news and editorial services did not materialise until Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, who had become its legal adviser about that time, conceived the bold project of buying the paper on behalf of himself and a few select friends of his and conducting the paper himself after relinquishing his profession and practice at the Bar.

Negotiations were started for this purpose early in 1905 and, after initial difficulties were surmounted, the sale was completed on the 31st March 1905. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar formally took charge of the paper on the 1st April 1905 retaining the services of the late proprietor Mr. Viraraghavachari as manager and of Mr. Karunakara Menon as Joint-Editor. There were then many among his friends and relations who considered this step taken by one who was known in his affairs to be cautious and careful as rash and hasty. Its financial and political responsibilities were, moreover, considerable and there were some who actually tried to dissuade him from it. But Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, who, though he had thriven fairly well at the Bar, had never felt attracted to it in the way some of his contemporaries were, knew his vocation all along and found it perhaps at a period in life when others may have hesitated to make so comprehensive and risky a change in occupation and ways of life.

With the firmness and faith that was intuitive with him, he took the plunge and swam through the eddies and currents manfully and left "The Hindu" in the haven in which it to-day completes its fiftieth year of existence discharging its services to the public and the country in an ever-growing degree.

THE EARLY STRUGGLE AND STRESS OF THE NEW REGIME

To those who have seen or who have a lively recollection of only the later days of prosperity that have dawned upon "The Hindu" and its Editor and Proprietor, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, the memories of the struggle and stress of the first five years of his proprietorship, with its heavy and grave anxieties—financial as well as political—may have receded into the background. It is not our purpose to narrate the story of this period at any length—exciting as it was and interesting as it would be to those whose lot is cast in the profession of journalism and newspaper enterprise. It is sufficient for the purposes of this short account to narrate the salient facts that bear on the progress of "The Hindu".

THE OLD COMRADES RETIRE

Within a month of his taking charge, Mr. Karunakara Menon resigned the joint editorship of the paper and went about seeking the support of friends for starting a daily paper on his own account. Within three months thereafter, Mr. Viraraghavachari got ill and in consequence of difficulties he experienced in connection with his own affairs severed his connection with "The Hindu" on terms agreed upon at the time of the sale. In the meantime, the friends who assisted Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar when he bought the business with the intention of becoming partners changed their minds for one reason or other and in the difficulties and complications that arose on all sides, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar decided to accept Sir (then Mr.) Sankaran Nair's advice that it was best that the paper and concern was in the hands of one man like himself and worked with all the vigour and devotion he could bring to bear upon it. He persevered and strove, on the editorial as well as on the

business side of the paper, with an energy and power that surprised his friends and brought sympathy and support from unexpected quarters. It was about this time that Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, who had been practising as a lawyer in Tanjore, gave up his practice and joined "The Hindu" as Assistant Editor. Though the first year of business yielded but a gross profit of Rs. 150, Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar had the satisfaction of viewing the future with confidence as the paper, notwithstanding the starting of "The Indian Patriot" by Mr. C. Karunakara Menon, was steadily growing in circulation and was even more steadily growing in its influence and confidence with the public. The personality of the new Editor and the independence, vigour and freshness he was infusing into the policy and writings of the paper were steadily having their effect on the progress of the paper and soon the corner was turned so far as its future fortunes were concerned.

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL AND AFTER

The year 1905 saw in the Bengal partition agitation the birth of that great national consciousness which, in due time, was to revolutionise the aims and methods of political and public agitation in India and quicken the pace of national self-realisation. Seven years of "strong" rule under Lord Curzon culminating in wanton acts aimed at crushing the national consciousness of Bengal was producing its inevitable reaction in the country and Bengal began a plan of determined agitation to undo the Partition at all costs. A fierce campaign of economic Swadeshi and the boycott of British goods was started there which was taken up all over the country, and its progress was so effective that Mr. Gokhale, who presided over the Congress in Benares after a full and thorough examination of its political and economic aspects, declared in his presidential address that economic Swadeshi was wholly beneficial and that Bengal was justified in resorting to it as a political weapon for bringing pressure on the British Government to reunite Bengal which had been divided by the misguided policy of Lord Curzon. It was a time when the Liberals had just come into power after years of exclusion from office in England and when "honest John" Morley had

become the Secretary of State for India. In India also Lord Minto had succeeded Lord Curzon as Viceroy and declared himself in favour of a policy of "easing the horse" after a period of active reactionary regime in India. It was also about this time that, in the Presidency of Madras, the smooth and just administration of Lord Ampthill to the merits of which "The Hindu" drew attention in an excellent summary, was replaced by that of Sir Arthur Lawley who had come fresh from the experiences of South African Governorship and full of imperialistic ideas of personal and bureaucratic government of Asiatics. The discontent engendered was great and the popular unrest that had been generated amongst the people steadily developed against a system and methods of government that had become obsolete. It left Lord Minto no peace and compelled Mr. John Morley, as he then was, to face the problem of progress and reform in India directly he assumed office with the vivid perception and sincerity that are associated with his honoured name.

"THE HINDU" AND THE PROGRESS OF NATIONALISM

"The Hindu" took a leading part in the discussion and the dissemination of the events of this period. The old methods of news service by post and occasional telegrams were replaced by the starting of a daily telegraphic news service that later on grew into what we know now as the Associated Press Service and also through special correspondents. The fierceness of the agitation in Bengal and the vigorous and ruthless repression by which it was sought to be put down produced throughout the country a growing volume of indignation and protest. But, when the all-India agitation for the alteration of the partition of Bengal was expected to secure a favourable result at the hands of the Liberals who came into the power in England with the promise of a new era of hope and progress all round, John Morley unwisely declared that the partition was a settled fact and could not be altered. The effect of this statement in India was to intensify the agitation and unrest that were fast spreading not only among the leaders of public opinion but among the intelligentsia of the country and to deepen

the disappointment of Mr. Gokhale and others who had hoped for great things from the new Secretary of State. Throughout 1906, therefore, public events and affairs were dominated by the unrest and discontent to which forcible expression and lead were given by the Indian Press, and "The Hindu" naturally found its place in the advanced wing of the Congress that began slowly to lose its faith in petitions and prayers and to rely upon self-help and Self-government as the only permanent solution of India's ills.

POLICY OF REPRESSION

The Congress which was held in 1906 in Calcutta met therefore under stormy conditions both within and without. Its presidency had to be undertaken by the venerable Dadhabhai Naoroji in order to avoid the definite trial of strength between the two wings of the Congress that later became styled as Moderates and Extremists or Liberals and Nationalists. Under Dadhabhai's wise lead the Congress, although strongly Nationalist, was able to tide over a difficult period without acute differences but not without definitely endorsing the policy of what the great founder of the Congress aptly described as "Swaraj and Swadeshi." Madras took a prominent part in the deliberations of the Congress in those days and sharp and acute were the controversies of the time among Congressmen as to the rival claims of the policy of Moderates and Nationalists. It was, of course, natural and inevitable that the preponderant opinion of the public was steadily turning towards the Left, while older and cautious heads were counselling moderation and restraint. "The Hindu" definitely gave expression to the national mind at this time and also gave the fullest scope for the expression through its columns of those counsels of caution and continuing trust in the justice and fairplay of the British Liberal Party which some of the older Congressmen were advocating. Events, however, were marching rapidly during this period and the strong and steady advocacy of nationalism and self-help which had received a great impetus in Madras by the visit of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal was, of course, attracting the attention of the authorities who had by that time embarked upon a policy of general repression throughout India from

which the Press was not excluded. The progress of the "Indian Unrest" as it was called in official language from Bengal to other provinces, notably to the Punjab and Maharashtra in 1907, was the occasion for the Government reviving the use of repressive weapons from their ancient and rusty armoury and when Lala Lajpat Rai was deported in 1907, the country, including all sections of the people, burst into an indignation and protest that surprised the authorities. Its effect was, in the Congress itself, to strengthen the nationalist elements enormously and to draw away from the Moderate groups many stalwart leaders who had put implicit faith in the Liberal Government of the time and also in John Morley. More especially was this the case in Madras where it was believed that the Moderates had a stronger hold than in many other provinces. The lead given by "The Hindu" to public opinion and the enterprise and activity it displayed in the prompt publication of news from all parts of the country and the focussing of public opinion thereon, was attended with much risk, especially as Sir Arthur Lawley was also determined in his own Province to impart a vigour to the reactionary policy of the Indian Government which was somewhat unexpected. Sir Arthur's administration failed to take account of the new spirit abroad and was indulging in a series of strong measures that came in for vigorous condemnation in "The Hindu" and the nationalistic vernacular papers.

SURAT SPLIT

Meanwhile the differences and the disputes that had arisen between the two wings of the Congress since the Calcutta session developed an acute situation in Nagpur and the old stalwarts of the Congress like Mehta, Wacha and Gokhale, whose voice was then predominant in the counsels of the Standing Congress Committee as it was then called, were determined to change the venue of the Congress from Nagpur which was considered by them to be an extremist stronghold under the control of Mr. Tilak, in order that the Congress may not be committed to a policy which would antagonise the Government and accentuate the relations of Congress leaders with them at a time when John Morley, notwithstanding the support he

had steadily given to the repressive policy in India, was believed to be exerting himself to take a large step forward in Indian reforms. Mr. Gokhale who was then in touch with the country as well as with the Government of India and the India Office had a difficult and strenuous time of it especially as he occupied the office of the General Secretary of the Congress at the time. Echoes of these troubles were heard in Madras when Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar proposed that Madras should undertake to hold the Congress, if it was decided finally to change the venue. The proposal, however, did not find favour with the Mahajana Sabha which was then the Standing Provincial Congress Committee, but Sir Pherozshah Mehta who dominated the deliberations of the Congress executive at the time was able to persuade Surat to undertake the holding of the Congress and Surat was the centre of the throes of an internal struggle which, in the words of Mr. H. W. Nevinnson who was in India at the time, saw the birth pangs of the Indian nation.

"THE HINDU" AND SIR ARTHUR LAWLEY

In all the controversies and contentions of that time THE HINDU, while scrupulously fair in the presentment of news as well as views of all parties, steadily supported in its editorial columns the aims and aspirations that grew with the new national spirit in India and it did not flinch for a moment from outspoken criticism of such policies and programmes inconsistent therewith propounded by the over-cautious mentality of many elder politicians. The Government for its part, under the inspiration of the Secretary of State, was developing a policy of rallying the moderates both in its scheme of proposed reforms and in the actual policies of administration locally.

In the Madras Presidency itself however, Sir Arthur Lawley and his colleagues were but unwilling co-operators even in this policy, while they were as ardent as other bureaucratic provincial administrations in carrying out the repressive part of the policy of the Government of India at that time, which began with the deportation of Lala Lajpat

Rai. Sir Arthur Lawley's indiscreet pronouncements on many occasions had to be subjected to severe comment and disapproved in THE HINDU while his action in dealing with the ebullitions of unrest as they occurred was fast developing an acute situation in a province which with more tactful and sympathetic administration might have been kept free from the wave of repression that was sweeping elsewhere.

Sir Arthur Lawley tried to do much for industrial development in Madras by Government encouragement and support in spite of Lord Morley's free trade opposition, but he showed himself from the outset as wholly opposed to Swadeshism and economic boycott. He employed all the machinery of repression against Swadeshi propagandists and those connected with that important venture known as the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company at Tuticorin, in pursuance of a policy of political reaction and also at the instance of European vested interests. What are known as the Cocanada and Rajahmundry cases connected with Captain Kemp and Mr. Mark Hunter then occurred and a number of Rajahmundry students were severely dealt with. There was also a large crop of sedition and rioting cases to which we shall presently refer. All these made Sir Arthur Lawley's regime, except for the industrial policy mentioned above, an unrelieved record of repression and no reform, of reaction and no progress.

THE ARBUTHNOT FAILURE

It was in the midst of these political and administrative troubles that Madras had to go through an acute economic crisis caused by what is known as the Arbuthnot failure. The scandals connected with the frauds perpetrated by this old and longstanding firm into whose hands the European as well as the Indian in the Madras Presidency had deposited lakhs upon lakhs of their funds, from the poorest Hindu widow to the richest Zamindar, to the tune of over two crores, had to be unravelled and exposed with great difficulty in consequence of the prestige and influence which this European firm had till then unquestioningly commanded. The services that had to

be performed by THE HINDU in collecting, analysing and publishing facts and details in connection with the insolvency in the various operations of the firm were onerous and difficult. In consequence of the searching investigations and the damaging reports of the Auditors and the acute public feeling of distress and indignation that had arisen in consequence, the insolvency proceedings eventually culminated in the prosecution and conviction of Sir George Arbuthnot, the senior partner of the firm—a step which went much to relieve public discontent and also help the materialisation of ideas that had already been entertained for the establishment and developing of Indian banking enterprise in Madras, resulting in the establishment of the Indian Bank.

THE NEW NATIONALISM

With the break-up of the Congress session at Surat and the definite cleavage between the two wings of the Congress that became reunited only seven years later in Lucknow, the differences in principles and angles of vision between the Moderates and the Nationalists were for some time emphasised, but THE HINDU though it stood all along for the advanced national programme at no time failed to discharge its duty by the other section of Congressmen not only in giving full facility for the expression and ventilation of those points of view but also in supporting and seconding their efforts on all matters and occasions when the interests of the country or the Province were promoted thereby. Such matters as the South African Indian issue which was then fast developing to a crisis, the Swadeshi movement and the proposals for reforms then under discussion between the Government and the people received full attention from all points of view in THE HINDU and public men, and politicians of every school found in its columns the most important medium for the expression of their views or for pressing their point of view on the attention of the public. The standards of fairness and justice along with the high conceptions of nationalism with which Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar conducted the paper during this trying period have been the foundations upon which the popularity as well as the

prosperity of the paper have been built—foundations which it has been the endeavour of his successors to strengthen and build upon after him.

A PROSECUTION THAT DID NOT COME OFF

The years of 1908 and 1909 were of course a period of great trial and stress for the country in consequence of the wave of repression that swept along its course unchecked but for occasional judicial intervention by High Courts on the part of Judges who were not carried away by the prevailing atmosphere of racial and political prejudice. The early months of the year 1908 saw the widening of the political differences between the moderate and the*extremist elements in the Congress, accentuated as it was by longstanding party troubles in Maharashtra in which Tilak and Gokhale figured on opposite sides : the former being identified with the wave of exuberant nationalism all over the land, the latter doing all he could to control it and direct it into channels of cautious progress on the basis of co-operation and understanding with Government. The definite acceptance of a constitution for the Congress by the convention at Allahabad in April or May of the year laid down the creed of the Congress as self-Government within the Empire. It definitely marked the attempt to shut out the advanced popular party from the national organisation except on the terms laid down by the Moderates, a step which Nationalists resented for long. In Madras itself the Swadeshi movement gained an amount of success and support that enabled the newly formed Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company for a time to compete successfully with the powerful British India Steam Navigation Company and all the vested interests of British Trade and Commerce involved therein. The support given by the authorities to the latter as against the former practically developed a political crisis in the southernmost corner of the Presidency which eventually led to serious riots in Tinnevely and Tuticorin in which the Government's officers resorted to shooting and other acts of repression. Though they thus struck terror into the people of the localities for the time being, they created a running sore in the minds of the people throughout

the Presidency and outside which Sir Arthur Lawley's administration did not soothe but intensified by a resort to further measures of repression. The bold and prompt manner in which THE HINDU condemned the action of the authorities on this occasion and the courage with which it called the authorities responsible to account for the shooting resorted to, made a profound impression on the public mind; the Government had actually sanctioned the prosecution of THE HINDU in connection with what it wrote on the occasion, but for some unknown reason, the prosecution did not eventually come off.

A series of prosecutions for sedition were started against Swadeshi propagandists and leaders of the popular movement like V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva, Krishnaswami Sarma and others that placed the liberties of free speech and writing entirely at the mercy of the Government and its officers at this period. Prosecution of newspapers for sedition followed and THE HINDU was long in the list of probables but did not give the Government an easy chance of taking action. The Editors of other papers, however, like the Editor of *The India*, a popular Tamil Weekly of the time, Mr. G. Harisarvothama Rao and Mr. Narayana Rao, Editors of popular Andhra weeklies of the time, were successively prosecuted and imprisoned for long terms. During all this time THE HINDU did its duty by the country and the people without fear or favour and without flinching from any consequences which its independence and sense of duty to the country might involve; and when the Government took the grave step of prosecuting Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, the Editor of the *Swadesamitran*, one of the founders of THE HINDU and a great publicist and popular leader, THE HINDU by a timely warning succeeded in making the authorities reconsider their policy and drop the prosecution on Mr. Aiyar's executing an undertaking.

MORLEY'S REFORM SCHEME

It was at this juncture that Moderate leaders in Madras thought fit to invite what was then known as the Convention Congress to Madras. "The Hindu" fought strenuously against

playing into the hands of the Government at this inopportune time when the Government's repression was in full swing and when great leaders of the country like Tilak, Pal, Upadhyaya, Arabind Gosh, Lala Lajpat Rai and many others had been put into jail and there was no sign whatever of the proposals for reform and conciliation then supposed to be in incubation materialising. Mr. Gokhale, however, was working hard at the latter question, frequently interviewing Mr. John Morley and other people in England. It was sometime in November of the year that Lord Morley's famous Reform Despatch was published and it gave the country some signs of hope that tended to relieve an otherwise desperate situation; for it was known that Provincial Governments like that of Sir Arthur Lawley and others, as well as the Government of India had made reactionary proposals by no means intended as real steps of reform in the Indian constitution. "The Hindu" rightly commended Lord Morley's reform policy in spite of the fact that it had had to strongly disapprove all along Lord Morley's passive as well as active support of the repressive policy of Lord Minto and of Sir Arthur Lawley, in Madras. The Congress in Madras met and had a successful session under these more hopeful conditions, but Sir Arthur Lawley's Government were by no means anxious to execute Lord Morley's scheme of Reforms in anything but a grudging spirit and "The Hindu" had to fight at every turn successive proposals and policies of the Madras Government intended to whittle down, delay or defeat the policy and the aims of the Morley scheme. At the same time, it had also to combat on behalf of the people many other reactionary steps taken or proposed to be taken by the Madras Government of the day, in respect of economic and administrative matters such as the unduly heavy land revenue enhancements in several districts, repression of students through educational circulars and general punitive orders, quartering of punitive police and similar panicky action taken in other ways along with unfair, severe and differential treatment of several Indian officers in the way of disciplinary action like those in the cases of the late Mr. Kershasp, I.C.S., and Mr. A. Subba Rao in what is known as the Kottapakonda

rioting case, of Mr. Venugopal Chetti, I.C.S., (now retired) in respect of the divorce suit brought by his European wife.

REVIEW OF SIR A. LAWLEY'S REGIME

Sir Arthur Lawley's regime in Madras in other respects also had produced deep dissatisfaction among the people of the province. It was during his administration that the Madras Government adopted the policy of abolishing the competitive system for recruitment to the Provincial Civil Service and generally of discouraging that service in respect of its expectations of higher appointments in the public services. The ryots' burden by means of resettlement operations was unrelieved in this period even without those occasional doles of sympathy and restraint which characterised resettlements in earlier years while his educational policy was particularly backward and was calculated not only to repress secondary and higher education but also to obstruct the progress of the liberal elementary education policy that had previously been adumbrated by the Government of India. His treatment of the Transvaal deportees and his want of sympathy towards proposals for the improvement of prisons and prison treatment and particularly his differential treatment in the matter of disciplinary action of Indian as compared to European officers in the public services, had produced discontent in the services also. When the period of his Governorship therefore came to a close, "The Hindu" in reviewing the whole of his administration made a thorough-going analysis of it and a scathing and fearless exposure of his stewardship which created a sensation in the country and excitement in Government circles. But "The Hindu" had reason to believe that the honest and courageous action in this respect was of great use to the public as well as to Sir A. Lawley's successors, and this was reflected in the prompt, sympathetic and successful manner in which Lord Carmichael, who succeeded Sir Arthur Lawley, attended to the various defects and abuses of administration to which his attention was drawn in the columns of "The Hindu" during the very short period of his regime in Madras.

Amongst the many important provincial matters of this period concerning the public to which "The Hindu" devoted special attention and in which its efforts were successful in a large measure may be mentioned the abuses relating to supplies taken by officers, European as well as Indian, superior as well as subordinate during tours and in camps, the claims of Indians to higher appointments in the services by reason of their fitness and capacity and the repeated instances of racial arrogance and bad manners indulged in by members of the governing class towards the people. Several administrative abuses also were unearthed and brought to light for rectification.

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA

The firmness, fearlessness and dignity with which Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar conducted the paper through these strenuous and anxious days was all the more remarkable for the reason that the internal economy and management of the paper were also causing him anxiety and taxing his resources to the utmost. Nevertheless, he was able to strengthen the staff by getting in two or three capable young men among whom was Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri on whom fell a good share of the office work in the years that followed. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar was also able to pay off the accumulated liabilities that had been left as a mortgage on the paper by the previous proprietors and by the beginning of 1910 he felt himself entirely out of the woods so far as the legacy of business anxieties went. The growing support of the public to the paper was seen not only in the steady increase of its circulation notwithstanding severe competition but also in the equally steady increase in its advertisement clientele which comprised both European and Indian businessmen and firms that appreciated the value of the paper as a medium of business as much as of public opinion.

The reconstituted Indian Councils under the Morley-Minto scheme of reforms afforded for a time expectations of political activity that might normally expand into the final and full realisation of the aims of the Congress, but the regulations by which the blank cheque of the Reform Act, to use Earl Balfour's phraseology, was clothed by the

Governments in India soon made it clear that the bureaucracy were determined to allow but the barest minimum of increased opportunities for the representatives of the people to influence the policy and administration of the Government. The futility of the whole thing and the helplessness of elected members in these Councils soon became manifest and "The Hindu" took the lead in demanding that a fresh start should be made. Lord Hardinge arrived in India early in 1910 and he made an excellent impression by his policy of trust and sympathy and by the very straightforward and vigorous way he championed the cause of Indians in South Africa—a step that eventually resulted in what is known as the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement. Mr. Gokhale continued throughout his good offices as the interpreter of the people to the Government. But the country itself was in a state of depression in which it found the Congress debilitated by the abstention of the advanced and active wings of the national forces, while notwithstanding all the efforts of Mr. Gokhale the Councils as well as the Indian Executive Councillors did not prove the success they were expected to be.

"THE HINDU" AND THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Meanwhile, in Madras popular activities were directed to other matters of public concern and at the instance of the late Dr. Nair and Dr. Nanjunda Rao, "The Hindu" took up the cause of a large body of Theosophists as well as the public who were aggrieved by certain developments in Theosophic beliefs and activities that caused many apprehensions among Hindus particularly. It is unnecessary for us to recall to memory these events in Madras when "The Hindu" had to face two criminal prosecutions for defamation and two civil suits for libel to the tune of two lakhs of rupees at the hands of the Theosophical Society and its leading votaries. Nor need we refer to the important civil suit in which the custody of the minor J. Krishnamurthi, then known as the "Coming Christ," and his brother, was demanded by their father from Mrs. Besant to whom as his Guru he had made them over, on the ground of the influences

and training the wards had been subjected to. Suffice it to say that "The Hindu," Dr. Nair and Dr. Nanjunda Rao manfully fought for their cause and for the rights of free criticism and bona fide public agitation in respect of social as much as political issues in this country. The acquittal of "The Hindu" in the criminal cases eventually led to a settlement in which Mrs. Besant and the Theosophical Society dropped all their civil suits. The event is important in another sense in that it was the beginning of a move on Mrs. Besant's part to direct her great activities on behalf of India to the field of Indian politics, a move which eventually developed in the starting of the Home Rule movement later on by her as the public are well aware.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION

There was one notable event during this period in which "The Hindu" in particular and Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, its Editor, showed the public how they discharged their duties with a resourcefulness and presence of mind that impressed all. It was the time when the Islington Commission on the Public Services in India was in Madras and were examining witnesses, official and non-official. It was a distinguished body and among the provincial non-official witnesses cited was Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, the Editor of "The Hindu." As might be expected, his written memorandum to the Commission was thorough-going and clear in its condemnation of the vagaries of the non-Indian bureaucracy and in its treatment of the relative claims of fitness of European and Indian officials in India. The catalogue of instances of incompetency shown by high officials culled from official records and press reports was so overwhelming that Sir Murray Hammick sought to discount its value by a question directed to the publication of news in "The Hindu" regarding popular European officials. It is a source of great satisfaction to us that Sir Murray Hammick and Sir Valentine Chirol and Lord Islington have continued to cherish high regard for "The Hindu" and its late Editor and have honoured us to-day by sending their high appreciation and good wishes.

THE GREAT WAR

When the Great War broke out in 1914, the Indian Press, in common with the Press elsewhere but in a greater degree, had a most difficult and trying time of it. Apart from the troubles connected with obtaining the necessary stock of paper, machinery and other printing material, the efficient conduct of their news-service and the editorial control of their policy was rendered enormously risky and difficult by the rigid and often unmeaning censorship of not merely War news but of all kinds of news both within and without the country and by the opportunity taken of the War by the reactionary forces in the administration to inaugurate a repressive regime against all Indian national aspirations. The policy that "The Hindu" from the very outset placed before itself during this trying period was one which has been wholly justified by the results. While yielding nothing in the pursuit of its duty, as the foremost nationalist paper in India, to further the cause of Indian nationalism in all its aspects, it did its duty manfully, in support of those principles of justice, freedom and self-determination which were the sole aims which the Allies assured the world they pursued in carrying on the Great War against Germany. It may be mentioned here that about this time Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar left "The Hindu" to take charge of "The Swadesamitran" as its editor from G. Subramania Aiyar who on account of his failing health had decided to part with the "Swadesamitran."

S. RANGASWAMI'S WAR ARTICLES

The intense demand for prompt and accurate news and the more insistent demand for a proper guidance to the public in the interpretation of confusing and conflicting War communiques, rumours and reports on the part of the public in India, imposed upon "The Hindu" a duty of no ordinary responsibility. But the manner in which this was discharged was, we are glad to say, one that was endorsed and appreciated by the people and Government alike. The brilliance with which the War campaigns were from time to time elucidated, reviewed and commented upon was one

of those features which particularly impressed itself on the public mind and owed not a little to the genius and talent of the late Mr. S. Rangaswami, who was then Assistant Editor. That "The Hindu" was able to discharge its duty by the Government and the people alike, side by side, with the rigorous pursuit of the national struggle for Home Rule that came to a head in the Home Rule movement of this period in which Mrs. Besant played so great a part, is a fact which will be in the recollection of those who will recall the manner in which "The Hindu" repeatedly and effectively defeated the attempts in the local Anglo-Indian Press to oppose and choke nationalist activities in India on the plea of War emergency and on the bogey of sedition and disaffection in the land. That the Government which did not hesitate to resort to acts of repression under the Press Act and otherwise against "The Hindu" during the period of the War and its aftermath was nevertheless constrained to acknowledge and appreciate the policy and writings of "The Hindu" in the most marked manner in its Administration Reports is, we believe, a sufficient testimony to the essential soundness and correctness of its policy and work on both these aspects of public opinion and activities during this period in India.

During the initial stages of the War controversy was for a time hushed and the magnificent response made by the Princes and Peoples of India to the call of the British Government for help and co-operation was a factor which impressed the Allies and the world of the duty on England's part to recognize India as an equal and integral part of the Empire and accord to her people the same rights and responsibilities of freedom and self-determination as all of them were fighting for and for which they were calling upon India herself to contribute resources and men in such abundance. The Government in England and in this country, instead of viewing the natural emergence of these expectations and aspirations as a result of the very principles they were fighting for, with sympathy, thought it right however to use the occasion for putting down by a policy

of repression the demands for Home Rule that had all along been made.

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

In the Congress that was presided over by the late Lord Sinha in Bombay, in 1915, the first attempt was made to give shape and form to these demands for Home Rule and it was Lord Sinha's essential moderation and policy of co-operation that enabled him to put off this step to the next Congress. The formation of the Home Rule Leagues side by side with the Congress as a co-ordinate but active and advanced wing of the nationalist movement followed. And Mrs. Besant's great personality and power of organisation were supported and seconded by Tilak, whose re-entry into the Congress with all those sections that had seceded at Surat, she advocated and brought about. Mrs. Besant for this purpose bought and obtained control of an important daily newspaper in Madras "The Madras Standard" which she re-named "New India." "The Hindu" wholeheartedly supported the movement and did its part of the work in a spirit of true comradeship during this period—a fact which Mrs. Besant appreciated and acknowledged. Although many of the elder politicians belonging to the moderate group hesitated and refrained from joining the new Home Rule organization, there was a general desire to achieve unity of national demand and effort at this juncture on the part of all popular parties in India. The resultant effect was what is known as the Nineteen Members' memorandum and the Congress League scheme of reforms, the former being the formulated demand of practically all the elected Indian representatives then in the Central Legislature and the latter the agreed national demand based upon the said memorandum, put forward by the Congress and the Muslim Leagues. The Congress League scheme attained distinctly additional weight not merely by the agreement of the two great national organisations on the question of political reforms but also by the great communal pact entered into at the time known as the Lucknow Pact.

The achievements of the Lucknow Congress and the Lucknow session of the Muslim League naturally created a profound impression in the country and it is a source of satisfaction to us that Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar as Editor of "The Hindu" was one of the most important Madras representatives prominently associated with the deliberations that brought them about. It was, however, at this juncture that Lord Chelmsford, who had succeeded Lord Hardinge in the viceroyalty started his regime with a reactionary pronouncement in Calcutta, which sought to belittle and put off indefinitely the national demands for reform that were to be so definitely and unitedly put forward in Lucknow. It was also at this time that Mr. Lionel Curtis of the Round Table sent round that secret circular which "The Hindu" and other papers promptly exposed and condemned in no unmistakable terms. The Curtis scheme of dyarchy, however, was later on secretly adumbrated and propagated under official auspices and some prominent moderate politicians had given themselves away in its support in a manner which subsequently prejudiced the evolution of the Montagu Reform scheme on right lines.

"DORA" AND REPRESSION

As the fortunes of the War ebbed and flowed and as every Power, Ruler and State in Europe and America became engulfed in it, the economic and military pressure on India grew; but to this was added the pressure of political repression brought about by the suspicion engendered in the bureaucratic mind of the consequences of the Home Rule movement and by the anxiety to put it down by the use of the extensive and all-embracing provisions of the Indian "Dora" as well as of the other repressive weapons in the armoury of the Indian Government. It is not proposed to refer here to the rise and growth of the Home Rule movement or to the manner in which every step taken in the way of repressing it only resulted in strengthening its hold on the country and making the movement the success that inaugurated during this time permeated every nook and

corner in the country notwithstanding the severe repressive measures resorted to against politicians, newspapers and propagandists. The necessity which the Government at the same time felt, in the interests of the successful prosecution of the War, to secure the support of the Indian Press by persuasive as well as coercive means in a state of things which every day grew worse, placed "The Hindu" in many a situation of trouble and difficulty; but Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar with the grasp that he had of realities and the frank and straight course he always pursued had no difficulty in dealing with the various phases of the situation as they developed.

Lord Pentland, who was Governor of Madras at this time, though a Liberal politician, had worse than a Whig outlook in respect of Indian affairs and Indian aspirations and whatever he thought or felt as regards the War policy of the Coalition Government in England, he had no hesitation in approving and expanding the repressive policy pursued in India under the Lloyd George regime. In the interpretation and working of the Minto-Morley Reforms he gave if possible an even more narrow meaning of their scope and possibilities for any popular efforts to improve or influence the policy and administration of the Government than even Sir Arthur Lawley had done. Lord Pentland's main efforts were concerned with the steps taken to put down the Home Rule movement and to restrain and repress the activities of its leading spirit, Mrs. Besant, who had her headquarters in Madras. There were frequent conferences of officials and non-officials and sometimes of the press too at this time and there was a definite campaign of organized European opposition inaugurated in Madras under the forceful guidance of Mr. Welby for taking strong measures and making short shrifts of the Home Rulers and their campaign. It was at this juncture that the late Dr. Subramania Aiyar, the foremost Indian leader of the time, put himself at the front of the movement and though a retired Judge of the High Court, dared the wrath and fury of the authorities with a courage and determination that surprised his official and non-official friends alike. "The Hindu" too,

of course, incurred the displeasure of the Pentland Government for its part in the Home Rule campaign and its vigorous criticisms of the Government's reactionary policy. One of the members of that Government, the Hon. Mr. H. F. W. Gillman, in an interview he sought with Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar while he was in Coonoor, expressed the Government's disapproval of his policy and gave him a sententious warning. How the Editor of "The Hindu" resented this proceeding and refused to be coerced was made known to the public when the Government put their threat into execution by demanding security.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF 1917 AND AFTER

By the middle of the year 1917 the Government had developed a tense situation in Madras by taking repeated action under the Press Act against "New India" and demanding securities of Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 10,000 and by following it up with orders for the externment of Mrs. Besant and her two lieutenants. "The Hindu" had at that time to fight the battle against great odds amidst this orgy of repression and it fought it manfully and effectively. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, the then editor, who by nature and by conviction was averse to taking an active or leading part in the conduct of political agitation and propaganda found it necessary and deemed it his duty at this juncture to come forward and take the lead to carry on agitation on the platform and in the country as well when the Government chose to put Mrs. Besant under repressive restraint. Others also came forward and the All-India situation that developed on this supremely unwise act of the Government made it necessary for the Government in England, then in the throes of the intensive war campaigns in France, to intervene and instruct the Government of India to ask the Madras Government to retrace the steps they had taken in internment of Mrs. Besant; nay, they went further and found it necessary to allay the suspicions and distrust engendered in India by acts of repression that had been taken all through the country, to make an announcement of their intention and policy as to the political future of India in what is known as the famous 'August announcement of 1917.' This step

was taken not a day too soon both in view of the immediate necessity of retaining the continued and united sympathy of India in the prosecution of the War and of convincing the people of their political intentions at the end of the War. The effect of this announcement, coupled as it was with the release of Mrs. Besant, to some extent allayed apprehensions and paved the way for a successful session of the Congress which was to be held in Calcutta at the end of the year under the presidency of Mrs. Besant whom the country had decided to honour at the very time when the Government vainly attempted to discredit her.

THE CONGRESS AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT

The Calcutta Congress accepted the August announcement of policy without its implications as to the testing of India's fitness and claimed the rights of self-determination and self-government in unmistakable terms. The rallying of the whole country under the banner of the Congress and the united support which it gave to the Home Rule movement under the auspices of the Congress itself at this time as well as the manner in which many moderate and elder politicians who had kept aloof came into the Congress to prosecute the national demand before Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu who were responsible for the new orientation of Indian policy, made a great impression on the country and led to expectations and hopes which, as so often in the history of India's struggle for political freedom, did not materialise in any substantial degree in the reforms as they were finally adumbrated and brought about. In the conduct of the agitation at this time, in the preparation, discussion and criticism of all the varied materials that were placed before the Montagu-Chelmsford Committee, "The Hindu," as might be expected, did strenuous work in its columns both through its contributors and its editorial comments. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar and Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, who was then editor of "The Swadesamitran" were themselves invited to place their views before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and discuss the same with them during their visit to Madras and the memorandum placed by the former before them contained an indictment of the

bureaucratic administration in Madras which led inevitably to the conclusion that the whole system and principle of government should be overhauled and replaced by a system of Parliamentary executive that should be rendered effectively responsible to the representatives of the people in the legislature. The instances and examples collected from contemporary proceedings of executive officers were by no means palatable to the head of the Government in India; but it produced a great impression on Mr. Montagu.

When the labours of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy finally crystallised in the proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, the controversies and contentions of the time were complicated by the organization and emergence of parties created under official auspices for the purpose of obstructing and delaying the progress of Parliamentary and democratic institutions in the name of the interests of communities and classes whose just grievances in social or administrative matters were purposely magnified and manipulated into a plea for delaying the advent of reforms. The Justice Party in Madras started some time previous to this with the support and encouragement of officialdom, unfortunately lent support to this plea for delay, though it has since wisely come into line with the other political parties in India so far as the demand for full self-government is concerned—at least in the provinces.

REPRESSION AND REFORMS

As in the previous period of the Minto-Morley regime, the Montagu-Chelmsford period of Reforms was accompanied with the usual concomitant of coercion and repression. Notwithstanding the fact that the War terminated in 1918 the Government of India proceeded to arm themselves, as a permanent part of the law of the land, with practically all the repressive powers that were conferred upon them by the Defence of the Realm Act and the regulations under it as a War measure. The agitation that arose over this preposterous and wholly unjust step taken by the Government laid the seeds in the country of non-violent non-cooperation which Mahatma Gandhi for the first time offered

to the people of India as the only effective and peaceful method of resistance against the unjust encroachments on the rights and liberties of the people by autocratic authority. The Satyagraha movement, as it was then called, spread far and wide and the success it achieved took the Government by surprise in a manner that entirely upset their ordinary calculations and methods of repressive administration.

Even in the year 1918, when the mind of political India was wholly engrossed in the controversies over the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of Reforms, the administration in India all the time, while reluctantly agreeing to carry out the forceful policy of Mr. Montagu in making the beginnings of which he believed and intended it to be a new era in the political history and future of the people of India, were also silently forging and organising methods of repression and reaction which had an inevitable effect on the actual scheme which was finally evolved out of this policy. Within the Congress ranks also differences of opinion as to the Montagu Reforms led to the development of acute controversy which finally expressed itself in the secession of the Moderates as a party from the Congress and attempting to organise themselves separately under the label of the Liberal Party. The Government in India and in England and their supporters naturally tried to exploit these differences to whittle down the scheme of the Montagu Reform to the lowest minimum possible; but far more disastrous was the effect which these differences between the Liberal and the Nationalist groups of political leaders had on the policy of repression which the Government started and developed between 1918 and 1921 and on the disastrous and fateful happenings that led to the wide acceptance of the non-co-operation movement in India under Mahatma Gandhi's lead.

THE INDIAN PRESS DEPUTATION TO WAR THEATRES

It was during the year 1918, a most critical period in the fortunes of the Great War, that the Government of India invited a deputation of the Press in India, both European and Indian, to visit England and the theatres of

the War with a view to their obtaining direct and firsthand knowledge of the great campaigns and operations. The Editor of "The Hindu" was by tacit consent the leader of the Indian delegation. In accepting the invitation in his then state of health, Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar undertook a duty which was by no means free from anxiety on the part of his family and friends. The public of Madras, however, took the occasion to show their signal mark of confidence, appreciation and affection of Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar and his great work in "The Hindu." The public entertainment that was given him was participated in by all sections of publicists and public men; and the public address which was presented to him on the occasion, wishing him God-speed in his work, referred to the fervent patriotism, manly independence, robust impartiality, sobriety of judgment and the unflinching criticism of men and things without fear or favour which had characterised "The Hindu." In rendering his thanks for the address, Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar undertook not only to impress upon His Majesty's Government that if India had been properly and fully equipped in industrial and military matters her help would have been far greater than it had been, but also to take every opportunity of pressing upon the attention of the people of England India's right to self-determination and demand for self-Government.

The manner in which Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar performed his task evoked the full appreciation of his country as was evidenced by the enthusiastic and rousing welcome which he received on his return from Europe. His independence and integrity impressed all with whom he came in contact in England and in the War zones and he availed himself of every public occasion that offered to put the Indian case without reservations or camouflage and to repudiate at every opportunity the attempt to belittle India's place as an equal partner in the Commonwealth. The deputation were the recipients of marked courtesy, not only on the part of professional organisations like the Empire Press Union and the Institute of Journalists, but also on the part of His Majesty and of the Secretary of State,

Mr. Montagu and had the satisfaction that by the time they had landed safely in England, the Armistice had been signed.

ACTION AGAINST "THE HINDU" UNDER PRESS ACT

It was, however, a matter of no small mortification to Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar when he returned from England in January 1919 that the Indian Government were far from dealing with India's claims and demands in the spirit in which the declarations of His Majesty's Government professed to treat them. The rigorous prosecution of the Rowlatt Bill in the Indian Legislature produced the Satyagraha movement to which the whole of nationalist India and the nationalist Press gave their adhesion. And when Mahatma Gandhi took command of the situation the Government in India lost their heads and embarked upon a policy of wholesale repression that culminated in the Punjab horrors. It is not our purpose to revive the memories of these dark days in the Punjab and in the other provinces in a lesser degree. We have only to record here that "The Hindu" had to fight with all the vigour and spirit that characterised its policy and writings in 1907 and 1908 and therefore it naturally incurred the wrath of the bureaucracy, but whereas in the earlier regime the Government had to resort to open prosecution and trial for sedition in a court of law, the Government in the latter days had armed itself with an all-embracing Press Law for the purpose of repressing and eventually suppressing without let or hindrance newspapers that offend them in any degree. So it came about that Lord Willingdon's Government, after attempts at dictation and warning at private conferences decided under instructions from the Government of India and bureaucratic advice to call upon "The Hindu" to furnish security under the Press Act—a step which was deeply and universally resented in the country.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

The action of the Government, however, left "The Hindu" and its declared policy wholly unaffected and its progress as an organ of public opinion and as an instrument

of nationalist propaganda and service to the motherland grew day by day. Its circulation during all these years was growing steadily, while its business side also was progressing in an equal measure. Improvements had to be made in the machinery and output of the paper from time to time while extensions had to be made of its business premises and additions to the staff were also being made gradually to meet the growing requirements of the paper and the improvements effected in its news services. Mr. V. S. Ramaswami's services were at this time requisitioned by the leaders of the Liberal Party for conducting a weekly paper to ventilate their viewpoint and when he left "The Hindu," the brunt of the work during this period of expansion on the editorial side fell on Mr. S. Rangaswami and Mr. K. P. Viswanatha Aiyar, the latter of whom had joined "The Hindu" when Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar left it in 1915, while Mr. K. Srinivasan, the son of the proprietor, was in the charge of the preparation and publication of the paper on the business side and he proved himself equal to every successive and increasing demand on the part of the public in respect of the circulation and expansion of the contents of the paper. The attention of the Editor was concentrated during this time on the main lines of policy of the paper dealing with the national issues that were fast undergoing development and change in outlook and deals. When the Congress finished its successful and epoch-making Amritsar session it looked as if nationalist India might take hold of the Reform scheme and the legislatures of the country as the platform for carrying on the further fight for the establishment of full Responsible Government.

THE SPECIAL CONGRESS OF 1920

The policy, however, of the Turkey and the Khilafat at British Government in dealing with the conclusion of the War and the policy of the Indian Government in attempting to whitewash that dark chapter of history in the Punjab in 1919 produced a wave of popular outburst in which Hindu and Moslem united to demand an entire reversal of the Government's policies in both these matters as well as a definite pledge of an alteration of the unacceptable dyarchic

scheme of reforms by the establishment of real responsible government in the provinces and in the Central Government. They decided, in all the fulness of national feeling and determination to sacrifice and serve the motherland, that their demand in this behalf which was presented by the special Congress at Calcutta was to be enforced by the sanction of non-violent non-co-operation under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress proceeded to put this policy into execution by proclaiming a boycott of the Councils. The Moderates and Liberals, however, dissented and kept aloof from this policy and programme, while many of them sought entry into the Councils and attempted and did their best to co-operate with the Government in working the unworkable diarchic scheme of Reforms. "The Hindu" throughout this period stood by the Congress and its programme. As the non-co-operation movement grew the Government's efforts to put it down by all manner of means and methods also grew. But the consistent and steady manner in which Mahatma Gandhi strove to eschew all violence in the conduct of his movement constituted a fact which baffled the Government and the devices by which they abused the provisions of the ordinary as well as the repressive laws of the country during the years 1920-1921 and 1922 is too well-known to be recorded here. The liberty of the Press was entirely at the mercy of the authorities; but "The Hindu" had lived too long under the sword of Democles to be deterred from doing its duty during these anxious times.

NON-CO-OPERATION AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE COMMITTEE

The history of the rise and growth of the non-co-operation movement and the changes in the policy and programme of the Congress that have taken place in the course of the national upheaval and political struggle of the last few years is too recent to need recapitulation here. It will be found recorded in the enquiry and reports both of the Congress and of the Government from their several points of view. As usual, "The Hindu," while giving steady support to the nationalist and Congress programme in accordance with its

policy from the beginning, kept its columns open not only for the faithful and accurate publication of news and views from all quarters but also for the full and fair discussion of all points of view in a continually growing area of controversy and contention concerning the realisation of India's national aims and ideals. It has always regarded the growth of such discussions and controversies as the clearest proof of the growing reality, sincerity and earnestness of the country to strive for and achieve these national aims. When the non-co-operation movement had to be suspended as a consequence of the outbursts of violence which Mahatma Gandhi considered to be inimical to its progress and when the Government thought it right to arrest and imprison him just at the very time he had taken this step, the country passed through a period of depression caused by wholesale arrest and imprisonment of the great leaders of the country, including Desabandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajput Rai, C. Rajagopalachari, the Ali brothers, Dr. Varadarajulu, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and others.

When the leaders came out of their imprisonment they decided to investigate and re-examine the political situation in order to decide upon a definite future national programme for the Congress based, if possible, upon the plan of civil disobedience that had been suspended early in 1922. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar as one of the leading Congressmen in close touch with public opinion and public affairs through "The Hindu" was invited to serve as a member of this Committee. He was at the time far from well and had had to undergo a serious abdominal operation. Always delicate his then condition of health was by no means satisfactory; but he refused to excuse himself and undertook the task imposed on him by the call of the Congress in spite of all the mental and physical strain imposed on him at this time. Of his work on the civil disobedience Committee the testimonies borne there-unto by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Dr. Ansari speak for themselves; and though the report of that Committee was a historic document which created an important crisis in the history of the Congress and though

the great leaders that participated in the enquiry were evenly divided in their view as to the programme of civil disobedience with special reference to the boycott of the Council in the general elections that were then shortly to ensue, the tour and propaganda done as a consequence of the Committee's proceedings had revived national hopes and activities in a manner that soon made themselves felt on the Government. The Gaya Congress met and dispersed with a definite cleavage among Congressmen; it also saw the birth of the Swarajya Party of the Congress. But unlike the Moderates of 1920 that definitely seceded from the Congress, the Swarajya Party from the outset decided to remain within the Congress to convince and persuade their brethren of the orthodox non-co-operation school to their point of view and succeeded in obtaining their support and sympathy and eventually their active co-operation also. The orthodox non-co-operators also on their part throughout the controversies dealt in a similar patriotic and generous manner with their dissenting colleagues and the great work that Deshabandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru did in the organisation and leading of the Swarajist Party from success to success during the years 1923, 1924 and 1925 is a testimony as much to the sense of discipline and organisation of the Swarajya Party as to the spirit of sympathy and helpfulness of the orthodox non-co-operation party within the Congress.

ORGANISATION AND EQUIPMENT OF "THE HINDU"

As we have observed already, "The Hindu" has always stood by the official programme of the Congress with helpful criticism and so during the two years when the Swarajya Party was but a wing of the Congress, whose policy was not directly adopted but only permitted by the Congress, it lent all its help and aid to the prosecution of the programme of the Swarajya Party in all directions.

The growing popularity and success of "The Hindu" even during the period of depression, or differences of views and programmes within the Congress itself is testified to by the fact that its circulation grew so large that steps had to

be taken for entirely re-modelling the methods of production and circulation of the paper.

Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar himself was enfeebled in health and was more or less confined to his home. The brunt of the remodelling and re-organising work in the editorial and business work fell upon Mr. S. Rangaswami and Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar's sons, Mr. K. Srinivasan and Mr. K. Gopalan, with their staff of assistants. The premises were again expanded and a full complement of Linotype machinery was installed followed by the erection of a high speed Rotary press. The installation of the new plant and machinery were completed towards the close of 1921. Side by side with the expansion of the establishment and introduction of new machinery its features were considerably enlarged by the expansion of its 'Sporting,' 'Commercial' and 'Financial' columns, of its literary and educational supplements and of special articles and short stories which the mass production and increased facilities for the supplies of paper enabled it to undertake. Steps were also taken about this time to improve the salaries, pay and wages of the staff, establishment and workmen of the concern and to place their position and prospects in the office on a steady and progressive footing. A liberal scheme of Provident Fund for all salaried employees of the office has also been instituted to which the proprietors are making a contribution equal to that of the employee. The additional capital outlay and the growing recurring expenditure of the paper on which the management confidently embarked have been justified by results and the fact that the proprietors have now had to order for an improved new Rotary machine from America, capable of printing 30,000 copies an hour, which has just arrived, to cope with the growth of the volume of business and to improve the printing and up of the paper still further will, we have no doubt, be welcomed by its growing number of readers and clientele.

SOME RECENT EVENTS

We have here to record what in the recent history of "The Hindu," amidst all its prosperity, is a matter of sadness

and sorrow. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, to whom "The Hindu" of to-day owes more than to any other as an institution of national progress, passed away in December 1923 after an illness of a few months. Neither the sufferings due to his illness nor the thoughts of his approaching end diminished at any time his interest in the work of "The Hindu" or in the course which its policy and conduct was to take under his direction which was continued till the last few days of his passing away. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, it may be added here, had at no time any misgivings about the future of "The Hindu." His confidence in those who were in immediate charge of the paper under him was such that he never worried himself about its future. That that confidence was fully justified was shown by the steady progress which continued to mark the career of "The Hindu."

MR. S. RANGASWAMI AS EDITOR

On Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar's death, Mr. S. Rangaswami naturally became the editor and Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri rejoined the staff a few months later. The traditions and policy of "The Hindu" to which Mr. S. Rangaswami had himself contributed in no small measure were faithfully followed by him, while the expansion and usefulness of the paper to all classes of readers were also steadily kept in view by him as well as by Mr. K. Srinivasan and his brother who became proprietors of the concern. The editorial staff was at this time further strengthened when Mr. N. Raghunathan, who was till then in editorial charge of "The Daily Express" joined "The Hindu." Of Mr. Rangaswami's qualities as an accomplished and brilliant writer, others have spoken in their messages of to-day. When Mr. Rangaswami took charge of the editorship, the situation in the country was by no means easy. Mahatma Gandhi was in jail; the popular leaders were divided on certain important questions such as entry into Councils; and the political history of this period was the history of a prolonged controversy over the conflicting programmes of rival Congress groups. One party urged that the Congress should confine itself to khaddar and other items of social activity comprised in the well-known constructive programme, while the other

attacked this programme as tending to reduce the Congress from the pre-eminently political organisation in the country that it was to a mere social service organisation. Mr. S. Rangaswami Iyengar saw in this cleavage, based as he felt it was on an essentially false antithesis, a danger to national unity on which the strength of the country and the success of the Congress depended. He consequently did his best to reconcile the opposing views and bring about national unity, not shrinking, where necessary, from criticising the parties, whether Swarajists or No-Changers, whenever they deviated from what he considered to be the proper course for them to have taken. Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar had also to tackle the excitement of a general election at a time when communalism was rampant, and how he discharged his difficult and delicate duties with ability and fairness is a fact which has been acknowledged even by those who did not agree with the political views he expressed in "The Hindu."

Unfortunately, Mr. Rangaswami was not destined to live long. He fell ill in the latter part of 1925 from which illness, save for brief intervals when he seemed to be all right, he really never recovered. For several months prior to his death, he was confined to his bed and was unable to attend office. His death in 1926 after a long period of illness created a situation of anxiety and of great strain of work for Mr. K. Srinivasan and his brother as proprietors. Mr. Srinivasan took up the editorship, and during the time he was in charge of the paper as editor, he devoted special attention to improvements in the news service and the development of other special features with which readers of "The Hindu" are now familiar. But the strain imposed on Mr. Srinivasan during the long months of Mr. Rangaswami's illness and subsequently was beginning to affect his health and he decided to place Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar in charge of the editorship of the paper to which the latter had himself given some of the best years of his life during the most critical years of its early career. Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar took editorial charge of the paper at the beginning of the year which happens to be the year of its Golden Jubilee.

CONCLUSION

It remains for "The Hindu" to thank the public as well as its readers and its large clientele for all the generous support and encouragement it has received at their hands which has made it possible for it to undertake the great and growing public services imposed upon it with such measure of success as "The Hindu" has been able to achieve. To-day "The Hindu" stands on the threshold of the future with the consciousness of its growing responsibility, regarding its task as a sacred public trust and heartened up to cope with it by the warm and stimulating messages of goodwill and goodwishes that have been sent to it by friends and prominent public men in all walks of life and from all parts of the world—statesman and citizens, publicists and patriots, officials as well as non-officials. For these cordial greetings, it tenders its grateful thanks; they will be an incentive to it to strive in the future as in the past, to deserve the good opinion of its friends by single-minded devotion to the cause of the public and the Motherland.

THE SILVER JUBILEE OF "THE HINDU"

A UNIQUE AND INTERESTING FUNCTION

As announced in our issue of Saturday last, the completion of the twenty-fifth year of "The Hindu" was celebrated yesterday (21st September 1903). The gaiety of the celebration was one unprecedented in the annals of "The Hindu". Public enthusiasm marked the event and the success exceeded our best expectations. Over four hundred guests responded to our invitations. The Press in Madras, Indian and Anglo-Indian, was fully represented. The Editors-in-Chief, their Subs and Assistants, and almost the whole body of the reporting staff in Madras graced the occasion with their presence and added thereby not a little to the significance of the gathering. It was from an early hour in the evening that our friends and well-wishers began to assemble. Our premises, 100, Mount Road, was gaily and tastefully decorated for the occasion. The choice assortment of flags and festoons indicated even at a distance the rejoicing within. The ferns disposed in a most tasteful manner on the stairs and the parapet in front showed the entrance and the approaches to the best advantage. The hall and the verandahs on the second floor, which were till a few hours before the celebration the repositories of the lumber of a Newspaper Office, were suitably converted all at once so as to receive the numerous guests who had been invited. The central hall was decorated with a profusion of evergreens, and the several hanging globes therein and the green chandelier in the inner hall shed the most mild and agreeable light about the time of sunset. On the walls and about the doorways hung the portraits of great men who have lived in the public cause. By 6 p.m., a great many of the guests had arrived, and some time before this, the celebration commenced with the playing of some choice and sweet airs on the harmonium. This was followed by a very excellent musical concert by the Ramnad State Musician, Srinivasa Aiyangar, the ablest vocal singer in Southern India, who was deputed by Baskara Sethupati, Rajah of Ramnad, specially to entertain the audience on the occasion. The guests

assembled in larger numbers in the central hall than in the outer spaces to listen to his music which was very greatly appreciated and admired. The accompaniments to Srinivasa Aiyangar's vocal music were also of the very best. The mri-thangam and violin were played by experts specially engaged for the occasion. At intervals, the audience was treated to certain rare feats by a clever ventriloquist, and then in parties the guests partook of refreshments provided for them in the western and southern wings of the building. The Indian and the European guests were served separately; and refreshments over, the main function of the evening, speech-making, was proceeded with. Mr. W. F. Grahame made the opening speech which was followed by a long, interesting and entertaining one from Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, who was present on the occasion and who was received with cheers when he came in sometime before, was desired by many to speak, and he spoke next. Mr. M. Veeraghava Chari thanked the audience and the speakers in appropriate terms, and with "God Save the King" on the harmonium the proceedings were brought to a close.

We must not omit to mention the fact that the Office establishment had a celebration for themselves. The day was observed as a holiday. But the workmen and others had come in earlier than usual and were treated to a sumptuous dinner in the day. The rain which came down heavily in the afternoon relieved the unusual heat of the morning, and by evening when the guests arrived, the whole establishment down to the last man had each his appointed function in helping on the success of the celebration. Later, when all the guests had departed, the establishment were once again called together in the eastern verandah and refreshments were served to one and all by the Proprietor personally. It was over 9 p.m. when the staff broke up and then they retired wishing "The Hindu" long life and prosperity.

The parking arrangements outside were excellent and the Police are entitled to our thanks for the same.

A DISTINGUISHED GATHERING

The following gentlemen were present among others:—

Mr. H. K. Beauchamp, C. I. E., Editor, "Madras Mail", Mr. W. F. Grahame, Editor, "Madras Times", Mr. Fred Ryan, Sub-Editor, "Madras Times", Mr. P. N. Raman Pillay, Editor,

"Madras Standard", Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, the Hon. Rai Bahadur P. Anandacharlu, C. I. E., Raja Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar, Kt., C. I. E., Dewan Bahadur P. Rajarathna Mudaliar, C. I. E., the Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur, Rai Bahadur C. Jambulingam Mudaliar, C. I. E., Mr. P. Thyagaraya Chetti, Mr. Hussain Ali Khan Bahadur, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Mr. M. O. Parthasarathi Iyengar, Mr. T. Subramania Iyer, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Mr. Ghulam Mahomed Khan Bahadur, Mr. S. Guruswami Chetty, Mr. P. Rajarathna Mudaliar, Mr. V. Arunagiri Naidu, Mr. P. Peter Pillai, Mr. P. K. Nambyar, Mr. J. L. Rosario, Mr. V. Ryrur Nambiar, Mr. S. Annasami Iyer, Mr. C. Alavandar Chetty, Mr. T. Sitharama Chetty, Mr. S. V. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. P. Pereathambi Mudaliar, Mr. D. Gopaul Rao, Mr. Pithambar Narsee, Mr. Ramakrishna Motha, Mr. Botha Gurusami Pillai, Mr. C. Srinivasachariar, Mr. S. Varadachariar, Rao Bahadur M. Adinarayana Iyah, Mr. S. Rangachariar, Mr. K. Jagannadha Iyer, Mr. N. Krishnasami Naidu, Mr. A. C. Parthasaradhi Naidu, Mr. Y. Nadhamuni Naidu, Mr. M. Krishnan, Mr. S. Mangesha Rao, Dr. T. M. Nair, Mr. K. P. Madhava Rao, Mr. D. R. Balaji Rao, Mr. S. Veeraraghavachariar, Mr. M. A. Thirunarayanachariar, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, "Indian Review", Pandit Gopalacharlu, Mr. A. Srinivas Poi, Mr. A. Periasami Mudaliar, Mr. Punithavelu Mudaliar, Mr. T. Gopinath Tawker, Dr. P. K. Krishna Rao, Dr. U. Rama Rao, Mr. C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, Mr. P. V. Krishnaswami Chetty, Mr. C. Krishnan, Mr. K. Ramuni Menon, Mr. S. Subramania Iyer, Mr. Ahmed Hussain Sahib Bahadur, Mr. B. R. Krishnasami Iyengar, Mr. J. Krishna Rao, Mr. M. Venkatasami Naidu, Mr. N. Virabhadra Iyer, Mr. P. M. Appasamy Pillai, Mr. K. Lakshminarasu Naidu, Mr. C. S. Rajarathnam Mudaliar, Mr. B. Chitti Babu Naidu, Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Mr. C. V. Muniswami Iyer, Mr. N. C. Rajagopala Chariar, Mr. V. Subramiah Chetty, Mr. Pimbett, Mr. S. Subbiah Chetty, Mr. B. Baliah Naidu, Mr. G. A. Vydiarama Iyer, Mr. R. N. Pragasa Mudaliar, Mr. G. Seshacharlu, Mr. C. Thirumalayya Naidu, Mr. T. Namberumal Chetty, Mr. Ramaswami Iyer, Mr. Krishnasami Iyengar, Mr. P. Duraswami Pater, Mr. L. Venkatarangam Naidu, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Pantulu, Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. and Mrs. Viani, Mr. K. B. Ramanatha Iyer, Rai Bahadur Professor M. Rungachariar, Mr. C. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Mr. T. A. Saminatha Aiyar, Mr. P. M. Sivagnana Mudaliar, Mr. G. Srinivasa Row, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Mr. N. R. Narasimha Iyengar, Mr. S. Rangiah Chetty, Mr. R. E. Bradbury, Mr. M. Viswanadha Iyer, Mr. C. Krishnasami Rao, Mr. V. Venkatachari, Raja

Mudukrishna Yachendra Bahadur, Raja Aukineyudu Prasad Bahadur, Mr. Ramanujam Chettiar, Mr. C. K. Vyasa Rao, Mr. T. Rangasami Iyengar, Mr. K. Seshachari, Mr. O. Srinivasachari, Mr. M. Kuppusami Chettiar, Mr. V. Ramanujacharyar, Mr. I. V. Ramanuja Rao, Mr. C. Gopal Rao and others.

MR. W. F. GRAHAME'S FELICITATIONS

After partaking of refreshments the guests again assembled in the inner Hall when Mr. W. F. Grahame, Editor of the "Madras Times", first addressed the meeting as follows:—
 "Ladies and Gentlemen, I am asked to say a few words on this auspicious occasion on which I have very great pleasure in being present. Before I came here, one of my staff who was coming told me that there would be speeches. I said that I hoped that I should not be asked to make one. I am sorry to find that the gentleman who was to have addressed you has gone away and therefore I have been asked to say a few words. In the first place I have not had time to decide what to say and in the second place like Sheridan I am one of those people who like to rely upon my memory for my jokes and on my imagination for my facts. I have been acquainted with 'The Hindu' for a great many years and at one time I felt that I was quite left out in the cold if I took up a number of "The Hindu" and did not find a longer or shorter comment on what I myself had been doing. "The Hindu" took a note of all the faults that I committed and everything that I did—right or wrong—and took me to task about it; and in fact I might say it chastised me as a mother would chastise a naughty child. If I had done anything for which I could fairly be taken to task, 'The Hindu' was pretty sure to let me know about it. I hope that as good children improve under maternal correction so did I under the careful schooling I got because I have reasons to think that in the last two Districts in which I served I was considered to have done fairly well. When I was leaving Cuddalore in one of the journals in Madras a sort of valedictory or farewell notice of me was published in which the writer said that Mr. Grahame always took his seat on the Bench with a blank mind. Some persons might think it not very complimentary, but I think it was meant as a very high compliment and as such I took it. I am very glad, indeed, to be present here on this occasion. Personally, I am yet an infant at the Press and my connection with it is not more than nine months old. I have been actually connected with the 'Madras Times' for not more than six months. I therefore feel like a little boy talking before a lot

of grown-up men who are much better qualified to speak than I am and naturally in these circumstances I feel a little abashed. Our worthy friend the Proprietor of this paper has been connected with it for the past 25 years and right well he has performed the work that he took on himself. I don't think Mr. Viraraghava Chariar will consider that I am flattering him when I say that this paper has been a model paper and quite fit to be a model to any paper. It has taken its stand to protect the interests of the people of this country and has boldly told the Government, whether of Madras or of India, when it thought that the Government was in the wrong. It has never hesitated to speak its mind honestly and openly; and it always championed the cause of the oppressed, in a right manner and in a noble spirit. I know nothing about the statistics of the paper; all that I know in that way being that it has been in existence for the last 25 years and during that time I believe that the paper has been flourishing and a successful one. It was started first as a Weekly; then it became a Tri-weekly and it has been a Daily now for the last 14 or 15 years. I think that every body will say that it deserves all the prosperity that has come to it; and its Proprietor is worthy of having that prosperity. I wish it good luck. I hope that it may see not only its 25th Anniversary, but also its 125th although I may not be able to see it." (Cheers.)

RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E., who was received with loud cheers, next addressed the meeting for a full half an hour in his usual, interesting and humorous manner. In the course of his observations he regretted the unavoidable absence of Mr. Eardley Norton on the present occasion and added that had that gentleman been present he would certainly have addressed them in his usual sprightly manner, sparkling style, which would have fitted in more appropriately with the occasion than anything any of us might say. "The Hindu" newspaper came into existence, as had been already notified in the Extra that was issued that morning, in the year 1878. Prior to that when the speaker was a little boy there was a paper named the "Rising Sun" but that "Sun" never rose so high in the horizon as "The Hindu" has done. There was also another paper published by name the "Crescent" but that also, he regretted, had failed as though lost and swallowed up in the gloom of an uninterrupted new moon. When Mr. Charlu had just started in life it had been suggested that there should be a paper to represent the native views; and the result was that a paper

under the name and style of the "Native Public Opinion" was brought into being, under the distinguished patronage of the late Sir T. Madhava Rao and Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Rao and other co-adjutors; and the speaker was one of those who supported it with his contributions. It went on for some time and it may well be styled as a Committee paper; for a Committee had been appointed to look after the articles that appeared in that paper. But as the writers to that paper could not give full time to it (for they worked from love and not for money) and as its Editor had to leave Madras, its value decreased and it languished and eventually died. There was also another paper called the "Madrasee" which was started in the meantime by his gifted friend Mr. Ramachandra Iyer, now Chief Judge of the Chief Court of Mysore. It shone for some time, then it flickered and was eventually amalgamated with the other paper and was styled as the "Madras Native Opinion". Even this venture failed because the people connected with it could not give their whole time to it. He regretted to find Mr. Viraraghava Chariar by publishing the morning "Extra" had taken the wind out of the sails of every speaker that evening by giving a full history of the various newspapers that had been started in Madras before the advent of "The Hindu". At any rate he could say that, when "The Hindu" was started, it started with a complete remedy in that direction, namely, that those who were in charge of it namely, his redoubtable friends Messrs. Subramania Iyer and Viraraghava Chariar who were schoolmasters at the time, gave up their situations and became schoolmasters in a wider sense of the term, and devoted their full time to the cause of "The Hindu".

The success of "The Hindu" during all these years was, apart from its other merits, mainly due to these two men completely giving themselves up to the cause of that paper. Barely was it five years old when it became a Tri-Weekly and when it was on the eve of entering on its teens it wanted to be more ambitious and it became a Daily—and as a Daily it had succeeded excellently well during all this time and all this was due in the main, to the continued efforts of the two gentlemen he had named more than once. Unfortunately when "The Hindu" entered upon its majority and lived a year or two, the family had to be broken up and it was broken up under circumstances which they all regretted. Nevertheless, it was a friendly separation. But he, however, expressed a hope that these two gentlemen who started the paper

originally would again join together and conduct the paper harmoniously taking care that what was formerly the source or ground for differences no longer and never was again made the basis of united action. The writer of the "Extra" said that there were signs of indifference on the part of their countrymen; and the speaker to some extent echoed that sentiment. It was no doubt a matter to be deplored that there were some signs of decadence among them; but he did not believe that there was a real decadence. He thought that they were as strong and willing to do the work as ever they were. There are two mottos on which most men act. One is this. "Some one else will do the needful and I may sit still." The other motto is, "None will do the needful and I must do it." The former is somewhat predominant just now. "Let the younger of you give prominence to the latter motto, on which I have acted all along. Then the symptoms of decay would soon disappear and things would right themselves. I have a word more. It may be asked how a celebration at the end of a period of 25 years is traditionally justified. There is indeed such a thing as a Silver Wedding, i.e., a celebration marking a period of 25 years of married life. But we have no wedding here. Can we call it a Jubilee? We have been associating 50 years with that word. But there is, however, in the Roman Catholic Church an ordinary Jubilee which is of 25 years' duration. Let that justify this celebration. Let us further hope that 'The Hindu' may live many such Jubilees and receive from our children and children's children and so forth a hearty blessing, such as we give to-day."

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer who was desired by many to address, rose amid loud cheers and said:—"Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank the Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu most sincerely for the complimentary terms in which he has mentioned my name and associated it with that of Mr. Viraraghava Chariar. This occasion is to me one of mingled feeling of regret and joy. I regret that I am no longer in the proud position of conducting the leading organ of the native community in Southern India, and no longer in that position which gave me opportunities and scope to render service, however humble, in the advancement of my country's cause. At the same time I rejoice that the little seed I along with others planted 25 years ago had germinated, grown and expanded into a tree which now I am so pleased to see commands the confidence and attachment of large sections of my countrymen. Perhaps it is not fully understood that in this country the functions and responsibilities of the Press are not the same that

are associated with it in the Western countries; and this difference is accentuated under peculiar conditions of our country at the present day and more especially in the period which covers the origin and growth of "The Hindu." The Indian Press is not representative of mature public opinion. To represent mature public opinion is only a subordinate function of it, because public opinion has no constitutional or regular channel of making itself felt in the Councils of the Empire. Its more serious and more important function is to form public opinion, to educate public opinion, and to direct it along channels of public utility and public improvement; and this peculiarity of the task of the Indian Press was most particularly felt at the time when "The Hindu" was started. "The Hindu" was started at a time when, in the natural growth of the political conditions of the country, an era of public activity was inaugurated by a combination of various circumstances and it fell harmoniously into line with the spirit of the times; and the natural sympathy and co-operation that subsisted between both conduced to its marvellous success. It was the duty of "The Hindu" to create public opinion to reflect it, and then to derive support from it which then it was instrumental in forming. It had indeed its own difficulties and disappointments, but the peculiar good fortune of "The Hindu" was that at no stage of its career did it fail to meet with the cordial and full support of the public; from individuals whom it necessarily offended in the course of the discharge of its duties of an unpleasant nature. Even those whom it had injured in their official career sympathised with us because we were able to convince them as well as the public that we worked and worked only in the interests of the community.

"We were young men when we started this. I was only 23 years old and my friend Mr. Viraraghava Chariar was one year younger and as such we never knew the responsibilities of the Press. We were actuated by a great desire to advance the public interest without knowing all the responsibility and the difficulties the future would bring. And if, to-day, "The Hindu" is a success and if it has earned a claim on the support and sympathy of the public, as much is due to the appreciation of the public as is due to the devotion and honest services of those that had charge of the paper through this long period.

"Interesting as the past career of 'The Hindu' has been, its future is full of more serious difficulties and responsibilities. When I say 'The Hindu' I mention it only as a representative of

the Indian Press as a whole. Hard has been the fight in which the Indian Press has been engaged till now during these 25 years, I may say, since Lord Lytton assumed the office of Viceroy and Governor-General. But the future of the Indian Press will be harder. Unfortunately the Press has to bear in this country the whole burden of public work, and the more public opinion is developed the more the need for the criticism of public measures is felt, the greater will be its responsibilities, and it is obvious that as public intelligence expands and as educated sections of the public grow in number and influence, the relations between the governors and the governed are bound to be less harmonious and there will be far more criticism and far more effective animadversions of the measures of the Government than it has been the case till now. Ladies and Gentlemen, so long as the Government maintains its present attitude towards public opinion, of not giving it a recognised constitutional status and refuses to take the representatives of the people into its confidence, so long this unfortunate misunderstanding will remain. Once the difference between the public and the Government is bridged and a constitutional status is conferred on the people, then there is a chance of the Press becoming a support of the Government instead of its 'standing opposition' which it is sometimes said to be. Therefore, in regard to political matters the Press has a very serious future.

"But not in regard to political matters alone. It has never been the policy of "The Hindu" at all events as long as I was the Editor of the paper, I never underrated the responsibility of the Press, in regard to our own social disabilities. When I had the editorial management of "The Hindu" or now when I am following other avenues of public opinion, I have been fully sensible of the responsibilities of the exponents of public opinion in this country to courageously and honestly press the importance of redressing our social wrongs as well as the errors of the Government. Therefore the Indian Press cannot shut its eyes to the insidious and pernicious influence of the spirit of reaction that seems to be passing at present over the country and be misguided by the delusions of a spurious patriotism. Let it not ignore the changed conditions under which the country is passing. Let us remember that no community that has survived a certain stage of its growth can go back and live it again any more than an old man can re-acquire and live again his childhood. The nation lives for the future and not so much for the past although I do not ignore the historical continuity between the past and

the future. The educated countrymen of mine who support the Press and other exponents of public opinion should bear this fact in their mind that the past is not so important as the present nor the present so important as the future. The community lives not so much for the past as for the future. Therefore I pray and wish that 'The Hindu' will not swerve from the policy it has always followed from its commencement and will advocate and champion progress not only in regard to our political conditions, but also along all lines of social and material advancements. Change, reform, and progress constitute the life of a nation; whereas blind and thoughtless conservatism lead to stagnation and eventual ruin; and so long as the people fail to appreciate the value of the real critical nature of the country at present, so long will there be the danger of the forces of stagnation working in our midst. Thus the Press being the only exponent of public opinion in this country, it behoves us and its conductors to pay particular attention to this general aspect and functions and duties, as well as to its more restricted ones relating to its political advancement. I thank once more Mr. Ananda Charlu for the kind words in which he has connected my name with the paper". (Loud applause.)

MR. VIRARAGHAVACHARIAR

Mr. M. Viraraghava Chariar in rising to thank the audience said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the ready response you have accorded to my invitation to be present here this evening. After what has been said by my distinguished friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu and my late colleague Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, I have nothing more to say. The response you have given to my invitation and the numerous congratulatory telegrams and letters that I have received, are, I take it, more an honour done to "The Hindu" with which I have been connected from its commencement, and in honouring the invitation you have only honoured the paper of which I am only the Trustee for you all. My friend, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, regretted that he is not connected with the paper to-day, but I can say to him and to all present that his heart and soul are with mine to-day in the celebration of the twenty-fifth year of the child which we both have nurtured and brought up till now. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you once more for your presence and request you to overlook any shortcomings in the arrangements made to-day for your reception.

With "God Save the King" and the distribution of flowers and "pansupari" the party broke up.

TELEGRAMS, LETTERS & THE OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

DEWAN BAHADUR R. RAGOONATH ROW.—My congratulations to THE HINDU. I am with you in spirit.

THE HON'BLE Mr. P. M. MEHTA, C.I.E., BOMBAY.—I cordially felicitate you on the completion of your 25th birthday. Ably conducted, "The Hindu" has rendered most useful and valuable services.

Mr. JUSTICE A. RAMACHANDRA IYER, BANGALORE.—I regret inability to attend. I wish long life and success to THE HINDU.

THE HON'BLE Mr. H. A. SIM, C.I.E.,—Many thanks for your kind letter and invitation just received. Best wishes for continuing success and prosperity.

Mr. K. P. SANKARA MENON, TRIVANDRUM.—Accept my heartiest congratulations on "The Hindu" completing its 25th year. May you celebrate its Diamond Jubilee.

RAO BAHADUR M. ETHIRAJA PILLAY, BEZWADA.—Accept felicitations for the national organ's twenty-fifth commemoration ceremony. May God bless your labour of love.

THE HON'BLE Mr. K. PERRAZU, COCANADA.—I regret my inability to attend. Wish success and prosperity.

Mr. T. ANANDA RAO, BANGALORE.—Accept my cordial congratulations and best wishes for "The Hindu."

Mr. P. KARUNAKARA MENON, CALICUT.—Heartily wish "The Hindu" long and increasing prosperity.

THE RAJAH OF RAMNAD.—Pray accept my congratulations and good wishes on the Silver Jubilee of our national Journal. I pray to the Lord that "The Hindu" which has passed through many vicissitudes during these eventful twenty-five years may continue to prosper and champion India's cause.

THE HON'BLE MR. K. VASUDEVA IYENGAR, SRIRANGAM.—Hearty congratulations to "The Hindu" on the celebration of the Silver Jubilee. Pray for increased and continued prosperity; also personal felicitations for your most laudable and patriotic efforts.

THE HON'BLE Mr. C. SANKARAN NAIR.—I congratulate you on your "Hindu" attaining its twenty-fifth year. Heartily wish it another twenty-five prosperous years.

Mr. S. S. SETLUR, BOMBAY.—“The Hindu” is reckoned as a power now not only in Madras but in this and other Presidencies. It is recognized as an Imperial organ of Indian opinion.

Mr. W. D. St. LEGER.—I congratulate you heartily on the 25th birthday of “The Hindu” and wish you very many more years of success. Your paper commands genuine respect and esteem on account of the admirable way in which it is conducted.

Mr. K. NATARAJAN, BOMBAY.—The position which the paper has attained during these years is a matter of congratulation to all who have been connected with it and of pride to the country at large. I wish it every success in the future.

Mr. C. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, BANGALORE.—I regret my inability to attend the entertainment which I wish every success.

Mr. JUSTICE A. RANGASAMI IYENGAR, BANGALORE.—I am glad you have resolved to celebrate the event and wish “The Hindu” uninterrupted success and prosperity.

Mr. C. VIJIARAGHAVA CHARIAR, SALEM.—“The Hindu” has done great service to our country and with a firm grasp of its present financial situation it may be made to do wonders.

Mr. SALIGRAM SUBBA ROW, BANGALORE.—I heartily wish long life and prosperity to “The Hindu”. It is so well known that at five and twenty hope is strong in the human soul.

Mr. V. P. MADHAVA ROW, C.I.E., BANGALORE.—“The Hindu” by long association has become almost a member of one’s household and on the days “The Hindu” does not appear one feels as if a family companion was missing. I wish long life and a long career of usefulness to “The Hindu” and to its enterprising and public-spirited proprietor.

THE RAJAH OF ETTIYAPURAM.—I cannot let slip this opportunity for expressing my good wishes for the uniform success and prosperity of “The Hindu” as the leading South Indian Native organ. Your wonderful tact consists in not only creating a public opinion but also in voicing it forth: that you have been able to conduct “The Hindu” with such moderation and popularity speaks volumes for your well balanced mind and your spirit of organisation. I can only say that so long as India can count such men as yourself in our midst, the future of India need not be despaired of.

Mr. JAMSETJI FURDOONJI, C.I.E., HYDERABAD.—I wish your journal every success and prosperity, and I hope you may live to see it celebrate its Jubilee 25 years hence.

Mr. VEDADRISADASA MUDALIAR, TRIVANDRUM.—I really enjoyed the account of the Silver Jubilee of "The Hindu" in your issue of the 22nd. May the paper continue prosperous is my prayer.

Mr. V. NAGAM AIYA, TRIVANDRUM.—Please accept my best congratulations and wishes for "The Hindu's" success and prosperity. I have known the paper for nearly the whole of this period of 25 years.

NAWAB BAKHIRE JUNG BAHADUR.—My good friend--the weight of age, and a deficient familiarity with the English language disqualify me to find proper words to say how cordially I rejoice beyond a common joy over your arrival at what may be justly regarded as the proudest period yet reached in the history of your newspaper. You have indicated, as far as any man can claim to have done, your fitness for the honourable position of "Trustee" of "The Hindu" to the people whom it so well represents.

Mr. LAL MOHUN GHOSE, CALCUTTA.—It is a matter of great pride to us all that leading newspapers like yours have attained to such a power in the land. Your Jubilee celebration has an additional interest for me because I too began my political career a quarter of a century ago. You and other veteran politicians and journalists must be aware that my third visit to England twenty-four years ago was chiefly in connection with the iniquitous Vernacular Press Act which, together with the other repressive measures, characterized the Viceroyalty of the worst of our prancing Proconsuls. I well remember and remember with gratitude the sympathy which was evoked from the British people when our cause was laid before them at our numerous public meetings and the deputation which awaited on Lord Hartington (now Duke of Devonshire) when I had the honour of being the principal spokesman on behalf of my country-men; and as a result of which that obnoxious Act was shortly afterwards repealed by Lord Ripon. I have long been a reader of "The Hindu" and have been struck with the singular loftiness of tone and moderation of temper with which it has been conducted and it has always manfully fought our battles in Southern India and deserved well for our country.

Sir P.N. KRISHNAMURTI, K.C.I.E., BANGALORE.—"Accept my hearty congratulations on the happy completion of the first twenty-five years of the successful career of 'The Hindu,' which is in no small degree due to your persistent, energetic and praiseworthy conduct. May it have a long and prosperous career

and be the true and correct exponent of the public opinion of Southern India. May you be blessed with health and conduct the paper with even greater success in the future than in the past."

THE RAJA OF DHARAKOTA.—"I heartily congratulate 'The Hindu' attaining its Silver Jubilee (the 25th year) and I pray the Almighty that it should continue with you for ever."

THE SECRETARY TO H. H. THE MAHARAJAH GAEKWAR.—I am directed by His Highness the Maharajah Saheb to say that he read the account about "The Hindu" given in the same paper as well as others, with very great interest. His Highness wishes you a successful and honourable career as upto this day and also wishes that your undertaking will always meet with a financial success as well. The paper ("The Hindu") which is conducted by you in such an able and influential manner always attracts His Highness' attention to its very elaborate, independent and suggestive articles and reviews. In fine, His Highness possesses great regard for the paper and its able conductor.

Mr. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.—I wish you every success and long life and prosperity to the journal with which you have been so long associated and which I hope will add services in the future to the services it has done in the past to our dear motherland.

DR. SARAT K. MULLICK, CALCUTTA.—I yield to none in my admiration for the courageous spirit with which "The Hindu" has ever fought our cause. It has held aloft the national torch and lighted us over many a dark year. It is my fervent wish that "The Hindu" may enter on a new era of prosperity and usefulness. It has fought fearlessly, it has fought even fiercely, yet it has fought free of a foul.

Mr. F. W. LATIMER, C.I.E.—His Excellency the Viceroy and the Private Secretary were no doubt interested to read the accounts of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of "The Hindu."

DEWAN BAHADUR K. KRISHNASWAMI RAO, C.I.E., TRIVANDRUM.—I offer you my most hearty congratulations on the completion of 25 years' service as the respectable representative of the real HINDU public.

RAJAH SIR SAVALAI RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, Kt. C.I.E.—It is indeed a happy thought of yours to celebrate the Silver Jubilee, if I may so call it, of your valuable and splendid paper "The Hindu."

The Hon. Mr. P. RATNASABHAPATHI PILLAI, NEGAPATAM.—I offer my hearty felicitations on the continued prestige and ability of the paper.

The Hon. THE MAHARAJAH OF BOBBILI, K.C.I.E.—I heartily congratulate "The Hindu" and its Proprietor for the completion of twenty-five years during which it has been a great success.

SURGEON MAJOR NICHOLSON, LIVERPOOL.—"The Hindu" which celebrates the Twenty-fifth anniversary of the paper has come to me with pleasant memories of the past, of the time when I enjoyed the personal friendship of its founders. The kind mention of my name has touched me deeply, for my heart is always in that country where I spent so many years, where I learnt to appreciate its people.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE MYSORE STANDARD.—Hearty congratulations from myself. Long life and prosperity to "The Hindu."

THE VOICE OF INDIA.—We wish our contemporary a long continuance of its useful and prosperous career.

THE INDIAN MIRROR.—"The Hindu" is a credit to indigenous journalism, and has deserved all the good luck that has fallen in its way.

THE INDIAN PEOPLE.—By the sheer energy and moral force of its conductors "The Hindu" has lived to become one of the foremost Indian journals of the day. It may be said to be the parent of public opinion in Southern India and many and valued are the public services which have been rendered by it on important occasions.

THE HINDU PATRIOT.—It means no ordinary compliment to our contemporary when we say that "The Hindu" has spared no exertion to arouse a sense of public duty on the public mind, foster and develop public spirit in the less advanced part of the Indian Empire, and has been representing public opinion and public interest and faithfully discharging all the responsible duties of journalism with an amount of ability and independence that fully deserve prominent mention and fitting acknowledgements.

THE UNITED INDIA.—"The Hindu" has been throughout its successful career, more especially in its earlier years, the trusted and enthusiastic exponent of public opinion as well as in a large sense its originator and guide; and this singular feature explains the unusual hold it has acquired on the public. It is not regarded as a commercial venture or a party organ, but almost as a national institution with a made out claim on the support and affection of the people. Its errors are forgiven; its drawbacks are condoned and its lapses rouse sympathy rather than disregard. At the most critical junctures it has fearlessly espoused the national cause and its effective and disinterested service on such occasions is remembered with refreshing appreciation.

THE LUCKNOW ADVOCATE.—As an exponent of public opinion, as a guide in matters of social reform, "The Hindu" has always raised its voice for progress on all lines and it has been ever remarkable for its sound views on all public questions. Twenty-five years in a newspaper's life might not be a long period, but it is so in India where a newspaper has to work under serious disadvantages.

THE NATIVE STATES.—To one who reviews the career of our contemporary these twenty-five years nothing will be more forcibly brought home than the fact that in India especially the greatest good comes out of the work of individuals who act with strenuous exertion unmindful of enjoying the good-will of the high-placed few.

THE MAHRATTA.—It is impossible to over-rate the magnitude or the value of the services which "The Hindu" has rendered to the Madras Presidency as well as to the whole country by its steady work and sustained spirit during the last 25 years. Time has come when it no longer requires any argument to prove high utility of a newspaper even in such a backward and politically uninteresting country as India. But without demanding any tangible measure for measuring the utility of "The Hindu" every one will readily admit that both by creating and satisfying a craving for political education for the last 25 years that paper has contributed a lion's share to the advancement of the Madras Presidency.

THE JAM-E-JAMSHED.—"The Hindu" has, incontestably played a great part in moulding the fortunes of the progressive movement in India, during the last twenty-five years. It has been not only the leading native journal in Madras, but an effective organ of the educated classes in India, its opinions and criticisms carrying as much weight among the public as among

the Government officials. By its sober, well-balanced criticisms of men and measures, it has secured the respect of all classes, and been accepted as an effective and reliable exponent of the views and wishes, not only of the educated classes but of the whole people; and as such, it has been of great service to the country in whose interest it is being conducted.

THE BENGALÉE.—These twenty-five years have been a period of stress and storm, but the good ship has gallantly weathered it and now floats gaily on the ocean of time. From the chrysalis state of a weekly paper it has grown into the maturity of a daily paper and become a power in the land. May it continue to prosper and remain as potent an instrument for good in the future as it has unquestionably been in the past!

THE NORTHERN CIRCARS.—"The Hindu" can look back upon a twenty-five years' course of disinterested, incessant and successful service to the country of which any paper may be proud. Its eloquent and inspiring articles during the troublous times of Tilak's trial and the Sedition Bill are remembered with gratitude and have based its name and popularity upon unshakeable foundations. May our contemporary continue its efficient and fearless championship of the cause of the country and live on for ever as the guide and leader of all political life in Southern India.

NEW INDIA.—Without meaning any disparagement to the other dailies that we have in the country, some of which might compare favourably so far as their ability is concerned, with some of the best European journals,—it may very safely be said that "The Hindu" has always occupied, as much by its fearless advocacy of the public cause, as by the moderation of its tone, and the general sanity of its opinions, the foremost place among Indian journals of its class; and we have all every reason to be proud of it, and feel thankful for the career of unbroken usefulness that has been granted to it in the past, and that, we hope and pray, may long be granted to it in the future.

THE PIONEER.—An interesting event has just been celebrated in Madras—the 25th anniversary of the foundation of "The Hindu". The paper was started in 1878 as a weekly; five years later converted into a tri-weekly; and since 1889 it has been issued as a daily paper. During a quarter of a century "The Hindu" has taken a prominent part in the discussion of Indian questions especially those in which "Educated India" is interested and it has been conducted with conspicuous ability and with a zeal, intelligence and moderation which have secured it a position of

influence and authority quite unique in the annals of the Native Press. "The Hindu" has shown that it is possible to advocate the Native view without rancour and bitterness; that it is possible to adopt an attitude of opposition without appeals to prejudice; and that such an attitude is not inconsistent with a desire to find points of agreement between rulers and ruled. If the example of "The Hindu" had been more widely followed the Native Press would be far, more influential than it is. The paper has achieved its position without any sacrifice of principles, and all who value independent criticism must wish the paper a long and increasingly successful career.

145, Nassan Street,
New York City.

Dear Sir,

"The Hindu" is read with great interest; for there is a general idea that the people of India are almost on a par with the savages of the Congo State; and it is a great surprise to find that intellectually there are men equal to those of their own and other countries claiming to be civilised.

S. FREEMAN.

THE STATESMAN.—We congratulate our contemporary "The Hindu", of Madras, which completed its twenty-fifth year on the 20th of the present month. A quarter of a century ago in Lord Lytton's time there was felt to be great need in the Southern Presidency of a paper representing the Indian standpoint, and six young reformers who found a partial outlet for their enthusiasm in the Triplicane Literary Society started "The Hindu" as a weekly. Chief of this half-dozen were Mr. M. Viraraghavachari, who is still associated with the paper and Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar who acted as editor until 1898. Twenty years ago "The Hindu" became a tri-weekly and in 1889 it was transformed into a daily. Our contemporary has reason to be proud of its quarter century's record. It has been no less thorough in its criticism of the administration than the majority of Indian newspapers but it has maintained a temper and tone which have gained for itself a high degree of respect.

Mr. W. J. Bryan, of the United States, speaking to a friend, said:—I am much interested by the articles in "The Hindu". Why, that is really a remarkable paper and shows that the black man can attend to his own affairs quite well.

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF "THE HINDU"

MESSAGES

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD GOSCHEN, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., V.D., GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.—An unbroken existence of fifty years is perhaps a sufficient testimony to the merits of any newspaper. But in congratulating "The Hindu" as I do most sincerely on attaining its Jubilee I should like to add that its success has been due to the skill and care with which it has catered for a wide variety of tastes and interests. For the politically-minded it has provided lucid summaries and criticisms of the political and social happenings of the day, while those interested in commerce and trade, in literature, in art, in science and in sport, have found in it a paper which can be relied upon to give accurate and up-to-date news and alert, well-informed and discriminating criticisms and reviews. If it can maintain these standards "The Hindu" may face the future with confidence.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA.—Hearty congratulations on "The Hindu's" Fiftieth Anniversary and best wishes for future prosperity.

LORD WILLINGDON, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.—I am much interested to learn that you are shortly celebrating the 50th year of "The Hindu" newspaper, and am very grateful to you for giving me the opportunity of sending my congratulations. I have some recollection that, while I lived in Madras, those who were responsible for "The Hindu" and I were often in disagreement on matters of policy and administration. But that recollection doesn't in any way prevent my sending you my warmest good wishes and hope that in the future your powerful guidance may always be in the best interests of India and the British Empire.

MAHATMA GANDHI.—I gladly add mine to the many tributes that will be paid to "The Hindu" on its Golden Jubilee. I consider "The Hindu" to be one of the best, if not the best, among the Indian owned dailies throughout India.

LALA LAJPAT RAI, M.L.A.—I am very happy to say that in my judgment the progress of "The Hindu" has been very remarkable in the history of development of Indian journalism. I knew the first Editor and Founder of "The Hindu" for whom I had great regard; and I have known some of the later editors also, particularly Sjt. Kasturiranga Iyengar who, by his excellent management, made it a financial success. "The Hindu" is one of the best conducted papers in India and I think the country has every reason to be proud of it. From the bottom of my heart I wish "The Hindu" all the prosperity which it deserves.

DR. M. A. ANSARI, PRESIDENT, INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.—My first sentiment is one of regret that Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar is not among us to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of his great masterpiece. For masterpiece it is. Those who have worked with and known him will agree that Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar's high sense of honour, silent determination, effective earnestness and infectious devotion to a cause were responsible for making "The Hindu" the great success it has been. I congratulate all those connected with "The Hindu" for his miracle in Indian journalism in passing the fiftieth year. More than that I congratulate "The Hindu" and my friend Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar on remaining true and faithful to the memory of its great founder. It has consistently kept Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar's high standard of service to the motherland. No achievement can be greater than this. Long live "The Hindu" to carry on the work!

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU, M.L.A.—"The Hindu" occupies a premier position among newspapers in India by virtue of the splendid record of courageous public service it has to its credit and of the excellence of its news organisation, and editorial control. It stands unrivalled for its brightness, for its robust patriotism, for its unflinching advocacy of popular causes and for the variety of tastes to which it caters. I have had the privilege of personal friendship with the late Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, whose loveable personality and earnestness of purpose made a deep impression on me when we worked together on the Civil Disobedience Committee. Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, the present Editor, is an intimate and valued friend of mine, and knowing him as I do, I have no doubt that under his able guidance the paper will reach the highest level of excellence in journalism. I cordially wish the great paper, which is now a national institution, a great future and still greater success.

THE HON. MR. V. J. PATEL, PRESIDENT, LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.—The Jubilee celebration of "The Hindu" is a landmark in Indian journalism. On this happy occasion I have great pleasure in sending a brief message of my best wishes for the continued success of the paper. By its excellent news service and virile and unflinching nationalism "The Hindu" has achieved a record and established a tradition of which India may well be proud. This record and tradition could not have been possible except under the capable direction of the brilliant editors whom it has been the good fortune of "The Hindu" to possess. I am sure that in the hands of my talented friend Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, the progress of "The Hindu" as the faithful interpreter of Indian public is ensured and that its reputation as the leading nationalist organ of South India will grow undiminished.

LORD CLWYD.—I gladly join with many other friends and well-wishers in congratulating "The Hindu" upon the completion of the fiftieth year of its existence as a daily newspaper. India has witnessed great many changes, political and social, during the last half century, but few among them have been more remarkable than the progress and development of its own press. The success of "The Hindu" in particular, has been a notable feature in modern Indian life and it is fitting that its Jubilee should be commemorated in a manner worthy of its history and traditions.

May I also express my appreciation of "The Hindu's" consistent advocacy, through its career, of the principles of temperance and prohibition?

"The Hindu" has established an outstanding reputation in many ways, and I trust that it will long continue to occupy the influential position which it has won for itself in the sphere of Indian journalism.

SIR ATUL C. CHATTERJEE, K.C.I.E., HIGH COMMISSIONER OF INDIA.—During its long career "The Hindu" has been fortunate in a succession of eminent editors remarkable for their knowledge, ability and integrity. I have always read "The Hindu" with interest and profit even though often I have not been able to share its views. On the occasion of its Golden Jubilee I can wish "The Hindu" no better fortune than that it may long continue in the highest journalistic traditions of honesty, fairplay and openmindedness.

LORD OLIVIER.—I have always considered "The Hindu" when I have had the pleasure of seeing it, an interesting and vigorous paper and I congratulate the Editor and his staff on its prolonged and creditable record.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS.—All my good wishes and blessings go to "The Hindu" on its fiftieth anniversary. Of all the papers in India this record of fifty years is one to be proud of. It represents Indian national achievement. "The Hindu" has maintained throughout a standard of excellence, which would do high credit to any country. May "The Hindu" live long to complete in good time its centenary!

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.—As an old reader of "The Hindu" with whom I have sometimes broken a lance, I am glad to be able to add my congratulations to those that will doubtless pour in upon you on the completion of its Golden Jubilee, and I sincerely hope that, in these days when the press wields such enormous power in India as elsewhere, the great Madras paper may wisely exercise its increasing influence for the advancement of India.

• THE MAHARAJA OF DHARBANGA, G.C.I.E., K.B.E.—I have always watched and followed with great interest the career of "The Hindu" and heartily congratulate it on the happy occasion of the celebration of its Golden Jubilee. God grant the paper many happy returns of prosperous years in future and spare it for a long time to render increasing services to the public and the country.

THE RT. HON. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.—I congratulate "The Hindu" on the completion of fifty years of its existence. It is a great achievement for any journal to survive the vicissitudes of half a century, but "The Hindu" has done that by overcoming more than the ordinary difficulties.

The journal has established a high position in the newspaper world of India, due to its high journalistic merit and its independence of thought.

I hope that it has before it at least another fifty years of success and influence.

DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M. A., PH. D., LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, U.S.A.

—One of the most welcome visitors to my desk in America for nearly a decade has been "THE HINDU". It has been a faithful mirror of Indian life and thought. I have found its news clean and accurate, its editorial articles incisive, eloquent, vigorous, and uniformly clothed in the very best of English. *

"The Hindu", to my mind, is one of the greatest forces for good in India. It has upheld an exceptionally high standard of journalism, for which every well-wisher of India must be profoundly grateful. May "The Hindu" continue to live and prosper, and render the public service it has done so admirably during the first half a century of its existence.

SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW, K.C.S.I.—I wish I could offer my congratulations in person. During the 45 years which have passed since I first knew Madras, "The Hindu" has always set an example of able and scholarly journalism. I have always admired its consistently high standard of achievement, which I hope will long be maintained, and I note that its latest issues show that it has lost none of its old power of vigorous and incisive expression.

DR. ANNIE BESANT, D. L., EDITOR, "NEW INDIA"—When I first came to Madras in 1893, "The Hindu" was the first paper I read, and it was strongly recommended to me by our President-Founder, Colonel Olcott. I have known and read it ever since, except when away.

The then editor, Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, I came to know later, and he was one who was ever devoted to the ideal of India as a Free Nation. Orthodox in his religion, he was yet not narrow, and I keep pleasant memories of him as a co-worker in politics and in journalism.

"The Hindu" is easily the premier paper in Madras, and under its present editor, it easily keeps its position. I heartily wish that it may continue through a long future and am glad to have the pleasure of attending its Jubilee.

MR. E. B. HAVELL.—Permit me to add my cordial greetings and congratulations to the many you will doubtless receive on the completion of the fiftieth year of "The Hindu." As a leader of Indian opinion in the world press, "The Hindu" has always been distinguished for sound judgment and impartiality

and for the ability with which it has been conducted. These are qualities which are more than ever needed in the Indian press at the present time.

MR. A. FENNER BROCKWAY, EDITOR, "NEW LEADER," LONDON.—I am very glad to congratulate "The Hindu" upon its Jubilee. I appreciated "The Hindu" before visiting India, but it was only when I was in Madras and saw it every day that I realised its value and influence. It impressed me as being the best written and most efficiently produced of Indian papers. From this standpoint, I instinctively compared it with the "Manchester Guardian" in this country.

I hope it will go on from success to success and that before very long it may be able to rejoice in the establishment of self-government for India which it has championed so consistently and ably.

THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION.—The position which "The Hindu" has established for itself in Indian journalism is well-known and the Commission sends its congratulations on its completion of its fiftieth year.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.—I desire to congratulate "The Hindu" on the celebration of its Golden Jubilee. By common consent, "The Hindu" is one of the greatest exponents of Indian nationalism. It has had a succession of very able editors in the past and it has maintained a very high level of journalism in India. It has not merely reflected public opinion but it has more frequently undertaken to lead and guide public opinion. I wish "The Hindu" every success in the future.

MR. C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU, PRESIDENT, MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.—"The Hindu" has been very successful in presenting the national view and in giving a good lead to the country in all important matters concerning the country. The public are under a deep debt of gratitude for the well-merited services rendered by the paper to the country. I fully appreciate the unique position it occupies in the newspaper world.

LORD ISLINGTON.—I am glad to hear you are this year completing the fiftieth year of existence of "The Hindu" and that you intend to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of this important Madras newspaper in an appropriate manner. May I

express the hope that "The Hindu" will long continue to maintain a high standard in journalism and will through its columns contribute its potent influence to the progress and development of Madras; and further that it will ever persevere to exercise the great influence it possesses with the Indian public towards a liberal and comprehensive scheme of Government based on mutual co-operation between the two peoples and in furtherance of the welfare of India within the circle of the British Empire.

MR. HIRDAYANATH KUNZRU, M. L. A.—The Golden Jubilee of "The Hindu" is a notable event in the annals of Indian journalism. No one who is interested in the growth of the public life can be unaware of the share of "The Hindu" in rousing the national consciousness. Its editorial columns have always been characterised by independence and an extensive and accurate knowledge of public affairs, and in this respect it occupies a very high position in the Indian newspaper world. I have no doubt that its success in future will be even greater than it has been in the past.

MR. SEN GUPTA.—I offer my heartiest congratulations on the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of "The Hindu." For half a century "The Hindu" has steadily developed healthy national thought in half the continent of India. Perhaps in no country in the world, except India, is it necessary for Editors of papers to keep scrupulously to the high principles of daily journalism and in this supreme test, your paper has never failed. And to-day, when signs are not wanting to indicate that reactionaries and vested interests are attempting to control and shape the policies of successful newspapers in their own interests, "The Hindu" stands out as one of the few papers, which have withstood temptations. One must not also forget that "The Hindu" serves as an object lesson to those Indians who doubt their own business capacity. For, can it not give points to Anglo-Indian journalism so far as its management is concerned? I have no doubt that under the new regime of your editorship old traditions created by two of India's great journalists—Messrs. G. Subramania Aiyar and S. Kasturiranga Iyengar—will be preserved.

MR. MIRZA MAHOMED ISMAIL, DEWAN OF MYSORE.—I send my cordial greetings to "The Hindu" on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee. "The Hindu" is one of the foremost daily

papers in India, and is held and deservedly held, in high estimation particularly in South. I wish it continuance of prosperity, and further extension of influence and usefulness in the years to come.

MR. H. P. GHOSE.—The Golden Jubilee of "The Hindu" is an event which cannot but be reckoned as a landmark in our path of progress. The trials that a journal has to undergo in a country under foreign domination are trying; for, as Sir Thomas Munro wrote more than a hundred years back, "A free press and the dominion of strangers are things which are quite incompatible, and which cannot long exist together. For what is the first duty of a free press? It is to deliver the country from foreign yoke, and to sacrifice to this one great object every meaner consideration." This first duty of the press "The Hindu" has faithfully discharged for half a century.

I congratulate "The Hindu," its editor and the proprietors on this auspicious occasion and hope "The Hindu" will do even more useful work in the future than it has done in the past. My only regret is that my dear and beloved friend Kasturiranga Iyengar, who was a brother to me, is not with us to-day.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.—I am glad to hear that "The Hindu" is to celebrate its Golden Jubilee. It is one of the newspapers read because it brings to us a good deal of wise understanding of the questions confronting both ourselves and the people of India.

I trust that the celebrations which take place will result in establishing the paper more firmly, increasing its influence and power and setting it firmly on the road towards its centenary.

THE KUMARARAJA OF VENKATAGIRI.—It is a source of great pleasure to me to send my hearty congratulations on the occasion of this Golden Jubilee for the 50 years of useful service "The Hindu" has rendered to the country. It gratifies me to note that a journal owned, manned and penned by Indians should have established such a reputation for the literary eminence of its writings and also for the high standard of efficiency in the running of the paper.

Differences of opinion in varying degrees may exist on questions, both political and social, between myself and "The Hindu."

But my felicitous solicitations for a more prosperous and useful future for the journal are none the less sincere than that of its staunchest supporters.

May God help "The Hindu" in holding high the banner of truth and justice!

MR. SHYAMSUNDAR CHUCKERBUTTY, CALCUTTA.—My sincerest congratulations. As an old journalist I have watched with pride "The Hindu's" career of prolonged service to the country under a band of distinguished editors whose mantle has rightly fallen on the present brilliant incumbent. It has never lowered its flag nor relaxed its spirit of enterprise. May God keep it ever fit.

SIR M. HAMMICK, EX-MEMBER, MADRAS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—I am afraid I know nothing of "The Hindu" at the present time, but I used to read it constantly when I was in India. It was then one of the best Indian newspapers, and was a valuable critic of the administration, usually very fair and ably conducted. If it continues on the old lines I wish it all success for the future.

THE HON. MR. T. E. MOIR, MEMBER, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, MADRAS.—All who appreciate good journalism and realise how much skill, ability and enterprise go to the making of such a successful newspaper will heartily congratulate "The Hindu" on attaining its Jubilee. May the same qualities and even greater success distinguish the next stage of its career.

SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLA, MEMBER, VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—For 40 years, I have read "The Hindu" regularly. I have often differed from the views and policies which it favoured. But never have I had occasion to doubt either the sincerity of its convictions or to feel anything but admiration for the cogency, vigour and clarity of its arguments. Its columns are always distinguished by a variety and interest of topics discussed. A newspaper with such a sustained tradition of independence and excellence has an assured future, and I venture to wish it, on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee, a long career of distinguished service to India and the Empire.

MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.L.A.—The Jubilee celebration of "The Hindu" will signally demonstrate the conspicuousness of national journalism in India, inspired, directed and managed exclusively by Indians. The proud boast of the West that it alone could conduct a first class journal dealing with all aspects of life and having political, cultural and economic influences, has been falsified. "The Hindu" more than any other paper in India has been a wonderful success. I had studied the position of journalism in the West while I was in Europe and I have come to the conclusion that our Indian journalism is no whit behind and "The Hindu" is *facile princeps*. The great names of Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar and Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar and the brilliant editorship of the late Mr. S. Rangaswami have been responsible for the great tradition that has been built up by "The Hindu." I have occasionally differed from views held by "The Hindu" in certain matters, and at the present moment I emphatically differ from its advocacy of dominion status. But that only makes it all the more incumbent on me to give the warmest good wishes to "The Hindu," its proprietors, and staff on the Jubilee celebration and to wish the paper increasing prosperity and continued success.

MR. HENRY W. NEVINSON.—It is nearly twenty-one years since I was in Madras and had the honour of writing for "The Hindu." Much has happened since then and I have no longer any right to speak upon Indian affairs. I follow the course of India's progress with sympathy and great interest, but it is impossible from this distance to judge it with certainty or to give any opinion of real value. I can only say that I have always held "The Hindu" in high esteem, and wish it all prosperity now that it is celebrating its Golden Jubilee.

MR. JUSTICE C. V. KUMARASWAMI SASTRI.—Hearty greetings to "The Hindu" on the completion of the 50th year of its existence. I hope it will have several more years of usefulness and prosperity.

I have been a reader of "The Hindu" since my school days and a subscriber for several years. "The Hindu" has always stood for progress, both social and political, and has by honest and fearless advocacy of what it considered the best interests of the country, deservedly won the front rank in Indian journalism.

MR. SYED ABDULLA BRELVI, EDITOR, "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE".—I consider it a privilege to be allowed to associate myself in congratulating the conductors of "The Hindu" on the happy occasion of its Golden Jubilee. The services which "The Hindu" has rendered to the country have been as invaluable as they have been varied. It is no exaggeration to say that it has played a most important and decisive role in shaping the course of Indian political life. Not less valuable has been the service rendered by it in raising the standard of Indian journalism. It to-day occupies a proud position among the newspapers of the world—a position which is due to the brilliant and devoted efforts of the editors who have successively held charge of it and who will rank among the foremost journalists of their time. It has fully justified its name by showing that a true Hindu cannot but be a true Indian nationalist, who places the interests of the country above those of a class, community or creed.

MR. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, RETIRED MEMBER OF COUNCIL, MYSORE.—Permit me to offer my hearty congratulations to "The Hindu" on the forthcoming celebration of its Golden Jubilee. From the time that the paper was started 50 years ago, it was fortunate in having a succession of distinguished editors to whose great ability, energy, enterprise and public spirit it owes its present position as the foremost nationalist newspaper in India. With its excellent get-up, and illustrations, its up-to-date news of important events all over the world, its special columns and supplements devoted to commerce and trade, sports and games, engineering, education, literature, fiction, etc., it caters to all tastes and is therefore popular with all classes of people and is in universal demand. Its leading articles with their inimitable style are in the nature of a literary treat to its readers. Though scathing and unsparing in its criticisms of Government and their measures when opposed to popular feeling and interests, it has, by the force and reasonableness of its arguments and its sturdy independence, stood high in the estimation of even the Government, as the leading exponent of national opinion in this country, as evidenced by their selection of its Editor, the late Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, to visit the War zones during the last great European war as a representative of the Indian Press. It is indeed most benefiting that the public services of such a paper should be suitably recognised on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee and that an influential committee consisting of many of the leading public men in South India should have been found for the purpose.

May "The Hindu" long continue in its career of usefulness and service to the country with ever-increasing strength and popularity!

SIR ABDUR RAHIM.—I cherish with affection the memory of my late friend Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar. Please accept heartiest felicitations on the Golden Jubilee of "The Hindu" which occupies such a prominent position among the leading nationalist journals of India.

MR. C. E. WOOD, MESSRS. PARRY & CO.—It is my earnest hope that "The Hindu", through its wide influence, may become a true guide and help to those who search for that form of government which will insure for India both self-respect and the respect of the world.

DEWAN BAHADUR R. N. AROGIASWAMI MUDALIAR.—"The Hindu" to-day occupies the premier place among the dailies of this Presidency, is second to none in all India, and will stand comparison with the best newspaper of the world. Not only as a purveyor of news, but largely as an educative medium in social and political matters, it occupies a unique place, by the soundness and sobriety of its views, stressing always the national as against the sectarian standpoint. The management, as well as the line of able men who have occupied the editorial chair, deserve the thanks and the gratitude of the country; but I have also felt from my experience, that great credit is due to the staff of capable and straightforward men, who are its reporters. It is a privilege to me to add my appreciation to that of the well-wishers and workers for the progress and salvation of our country and with them wish "The Hindu" long life and an ever-increasing measure of success and public utility.

MR. HY. S. L. POLAK, SOLICITOR, LONDON.—I am very glad indeed to know that "The Hindu" has completed the long period of fifty years of publication and is celebrating its Golden Jubilee. I have been familiar with the paper for nearly half that time. Indeed, my familiarity with its columns dates from the earliest days of my work for India. I recall with gratitude the splendid support that "The Hindu" has always given to the cause of Indians Overseas, a support that was valuable not only because of its patriotism and enthusiasm, but also because of its excellently informed criticism.

I shall always associate with it, in my mind, its late Editor, my old friend, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar. I have always regarded "The Hindu" as one of the best produced of the Indian owned newspapers, and have felt that it has done great credit to the reputation of Indian journalism.

I sincerely hope that it will survive many more anniversaries and possibly also many more Jubilees.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR.—"The Hindu" is identified with and is responsible for the political evolution of South India.

MR. A. ALLAN, FOR AND ON BEHALF OF A. JOHNSON & CO. (LONDON), LTD.—We take this opportunity of extending our sincere congratulations on the Golden Jubilee of your distinguished publication and would also convey our best wishes for its future success.

The high standard of "The Hindu's" journalistic achievements is renowned throughout the world and it is always appreciated, even by the most critical reader.

MR. G. I. HIGGINS, JOHN DICKINSON & CO.—I understand that, although you are not now celebrating it until later on, "The Hindu" attains its Jubilee on September 21st, and I should like to be permitted to add my congratulations to the many you will receive from all quarters.

I trust that under your guidance, "The Hindu" may have many more years of prosperity before it.

MR. P. ROTHERA, AGENT, SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY (ON BEHALF OF THE DIRECTORS).—The fact that time proves without doubt the testimony of a journal's intrinsic worth and that "The Hindu" is now about to celebrate its 50th anniversary speaks for itself of the value of "The Hindu." From a small circulation and a humble beginning, "The Hindu" has, I have noticed, grown to occupy a prominent place in the Indian Press.

It represents to-day the best type of Indian journalism and enjoys a reputation of being one of the best English-edited papers in India. It is read with interest by both Europeans and Indians

alike and its freedom of speech, its masterly grasp of subjects brings with it a record of which any journal may be justly proud.

I wish the paper many long years more of useful and distinguished work to the country.

